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[For additional information on phratries, see Category 614.]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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778 the remains of the old fort Udaiya Rāya Kōta. Badaga tradition gives a fairly detailed account of Udaiya Rāya.
173 It says he was a chief who collected the taxes for the Ummattūr Rājas, and that he had also a fort at Kullanthorai, near Sirumugai, the remains of which are still to be seen. He married a woman of Netlingi hamlet of Nedugula, named Muddu Gavari, but she died by the wrath of the gods because she persuaded him to celebrate the annual fire-walking festival in front of the fort, instead of at the customary spot by the Mahālingasvāmi temple about half a mile off. Ānaikatti is a hamlet situated in the jungle of the Moyar valley. The stream which flows past it tumbles over a pretty fall on the slopes of Bīrmukkū (Bimaka) hill. The Badagas call the spot Kuduraihallo, or the ravine of the horse, and say the name was given it because a Badaga, covered with shame at finding that his wife gave him first sort rice but his brother who lived with them only second sort, committed suicide by jumping his horse down the fall."

• 615 According to Mr. Grigg, the Badagas recognise eighteen different "castes or sects." These are, however, simplified by Mr. S. M. Natesa Sāstri * into six, "five high castes and one low caste." They are—

1. Udaya.	High caste.
2. Hāruva.	
3. Adhikāri.	
4. Kanaka.	
5. Badaga.	
6. Toreya ...	Low caste.

"Udayas are Lingāyats in religion, and carry the Sivalinga—the Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the other Badagas, and

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* Madras Christian College Magazine, 1892.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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615 [793] are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Badagas of the Lingāyat class, and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high caste Badaga sects. Udaya was, and is the title assumed by the Maisūr Rājas, and those Badagas, by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins." The Lingāyat Badagas are commonly called Lingakutti.

[174] "Next in rank come the Hāruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the Āryas—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brāhmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must originally have been the poor Brāhman priests of the Badagas that migrated to this country (the Nīlgiris), though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Badagas. These Hāruvas are also strict vegetarians, and act as priests." It has been suggested that the Hāruvas (jumper) derive their name from the fire-walking ceremony, which they perform periodically. A further, and more probable suggestion has been made to me that Hāruva comes from a Canarese word meaning to beg or pray; hence one who begs or prays, and so a Brāhman. The Canarese Basava Purāna frequently uses the word in sense. "The Adhikāris are to a certain extent vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low caste Toreyas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikāri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Badagas, betakes himself to this latter very readily." The Kanakas are stated by Mr. Grigg to be the accountants, who were probably introduced when the hills were under the sway of the Tamil chiefs. This would, however, seem to be very improbable. "The Toreyas are regarded as sons and servants to the five high caste Badaga sects—to the Hāruvas especially.

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1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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615 They are the lowest in the scale, and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high caste Badagas, as long as they are sons to them." The Toreya does the menial duties for the tribe. He is the village servant, carries the corpses to the burning-ground, conveys the news of a death from village to village, is the first to get shaved when a death occurs, and is sent along with a woman when she is going to visit her mother or mother-
[195] in-law at a distance from her own home. "The Udayas, Adhikāris and Kanakas are Lingāyats in religion, and the other three, the Hāruvas, Badagas, and Toreyas are Saivites." Of the six divisions referred to, the Udayas and Toreyas are endogamous, but intermarriage is permissible between the other four. At the census, 1891, a large number of Badagas returned as their sub-division Vakkaliga, which means cultivator, and is the name of the great cultivating caste of Mysore.

113 Seven miles west of Coonoor is a village named
[360] Athikārihatti, or village of the Athikāri or Adhikāri section of the Badagas. "The story goes that these people, under a leader named Karibetta Rāya, came from Sarigūr in Mysore territory, and settled first at Nelliturai (a short distance south-west of Mettupālaiyam) and afterwards at Tūdūr (on the plateau west of Kulakambi) and Tadasimarahatti (to the north-west of Melūr), and that it was they who erected the sculptured
[112] cromlechs of Tūdūr and Melūr. Tūdūr and Tadasimarahatti are now both deserted; but in the former a cattle kraal, an old shrine, and a pit for fire-walking may still be seen, and in the latter another kraal, and one of the raised stone platforms called mandaikallu by the Badagas. Tradition says that the Badagas left these places and founded Athikārihatti and its hamlets instead, because the Kurumbas round about continually troubled

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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them *ma:v*. But were any of the Badagas ever servants?

There are two small phratries living on the northern edge of the plateau near Si:gu:ru. These are the Kumba:ras ('potters') and the Be:das ('hunters'), both of whom report they came initially to this locality while in the service of the chieftain of Ummattu:r (southern Mysore district). The title of 'servant' might have been applied to both these groups but that would not explain how the entire immigrant community came to be called *Baḍaga*. In this context it is particularly worth noting that most of the immigrants arrived before the Be:das and Kumba:ras, who reached the hills in the seventeenth century; yet in 1603 Finicio was already calling the whole community Badega.[2]

We are thus left with the presumption that Badagas are so called because of their northern origin.[3] The case of the Be:das and Kumba:ras, phratries with the same material culture and social organization as other Badagas and a demonstrable tie with Karnataka, merely bears out the connexion with that state.

The fact that a sizeable minority (over 10,000) of the community is Lingayat further underlines the tie with Mysore, for this religious sect finds nearly all of its followers within Karnataka State, virtually none being in Tamil Nadu apart from these in the Nilgiri region. Some Lingayat Badagas are even able to relate how their ancestors left two now-deserted villages in Mysore and that they were then already converts to Lingayatism (or Virashaivism).

DATING THE MIGRATION

Legends are always inaccurate over dates, if only because they pass from generation to generation without modification of reference to times past. There are, however, various other kinds of evidence which also shed some light on the dating of the migration.

Published Estimates

Several writers well versed in Badaga culture have hazarded guesses as to the dating, based in part on legends they heard. Serious attention should be paid, I feel, to the earlier publications:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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was the village headman. Neighbouring villages (*hatti*), though of different lineages and even of different phratries, grouped themselves together for protective purposes under the headmanship of one prominent village into what I have called communes (*ur*).[12] Thus Ke:ti, for example, is the leading village in Ke:ti commune, which embraces fifteen other contiguous villages, most of them belonging to one maximal lineage (*kuḍumbu*). The village headman of Ke:ti is also headmen of the commune.

We shall now examine legends of how the various clans and phratries became established on the hills to clarify the history of this intermittent migration. The recently formed Christian phratry will not be considered at this point, as it is more relevant to my discussion of modern cultural change.[13] The Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are distributed among fourteen intermarrying clans which trace their descent from six of the Hindu phratries.

The categories in what follows are treated roughly in order of social superiority. This hierarchy is not accepted, however, by Ha:ruvas and their supporters. Since Ha:ruvas come from the Brahma sept they have recently laid claim to an origin as Brahmins and therefore see themselves as superior to Wodeas and all other Badagas. At the other extremity they consider the Kumba:ras and Be:das to rank below Toreas, since the traditional occupations of the former—potters and huntsmen—could place them below Torea servants in the caste ideology of the Indian plains. The great majority of Badagas, in contrast, place Wodeas at the top and Toreas at the bottom of their social hierarchy.

WODEAS

The Badaga Lingayats are generally acknowledged to have been among the later groups to arrive. The contention that they were already Lingayat at that time (Macleane, 1893, 64) provides a meagre clue to the date of their migration, for their sect was founded in the mid-twelfth century and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*. Within sixty years of the founder's death (traditionally A.D. 1168) this egalitarian Hindu faith had spread throughout the Kannada-speaking region. It became the state religion when King Vijaya Wodeyar came to the throne in 1399 and remained so until 1610. However a descendant of his, Raja Wodeyar (who ruled from 1578 to 1617), drove the eponymous Wodeya chieftain Udaiya Raya of Ummattu:r up into the Nilgiris and captured his

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Map 1. Map to illustrate the migrations of the Badagas.

615 realm in 1613. Badaga Wodeas now claim to have come with this man and to be descended through him from the royal house of Mysore (Grigg, 1880, 218, 220, 225; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754–755; Rice 1897, vol. II, 296, 364; Hayavadana Rao, 1930, vol. V, 862). Some came from the Lingayat monastery at Angala and first settled at a subsequently deserted village called Ukkupalle, near

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 Cinna Kunnu:r (on the northern edge of the Nilgiris). Traditionally these were the Wodeas of Maduve clan, who had previously been *Jangama* priests. When other Wodeas arrived from Tagadu:r they formed a separate clan called Ko:ve:ru, as they were of that sept. Yet other Wodeas came to the Nilgiris from a monastery at Saragu:r, and since that was a village in the former Hindu kingdom of Kongu this particular clan of Wodeas have ever since been nicknamed Kongaru ('Kongu people') by other Badagas. Later on, when Tippu's troops seized the Nilgiri fortress of Male Ko:te, an Ummattu:r outpost, the Wodeas who were dependent on its chiefs were reportedly left destitute, but they remained in the hills.[14]

194 The relative recency of this Wodea migration derives some
197 support from Badagu dialectology. As I have mentioned, there are six dialects of the language, three of these seemingly distinctive by reason of geography: speakers living in the Kundena:du, Ha:sanu.ru and Wainad areas used to be quite isolated from the rest of the community, a situation that would encourage the growth of separate dialects in the course of several centuries. The distinction of Wodea and of Kumba:ra-Be:da from Standard Badagu cannot, however, be explained in geographic terms, for the Wodeas, Kumba:ras and Be:das live in and beside villages where Standard Badagu is spoken. Only by postulating that these three groups arrived speaking a more modern form of Kannada than the earlier immigrants who spoke a medieval variety can we account
615 for this disparity. Their own legend fully bears out this hypothesis: they claim to have all come to the hills together in the service of an Ummattu:r chieftain when the Gaudas had already arrived, the Wodeas as Lingayat priests, the Kumba:ras as palace servants, the Be:das as huntsmen and tribute collectors. Not only do the Wodeas claim descent from the royal house, however (Metz, 1864, 48-49; Grigg, 1880, 220; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754-755); the Kumba:ras also maintain they 'belonged to' the ruling family of Chamaraj Wodeya, though they probably had a servile rather than a kin relationship, particularly as this phratry is Shaivite (not Lingayat), while the royal family has been Vaishnavite since 1610.
[197] The fact that the Wodeas have a dialect distinct from Kumba:ra-
[198] Be:da is to be explained by class distinctions. As in many parts of India the orthodox, vegetarian, high-status Woderu priests spoke differently from the low status, meat-eating servants of the chieftain for the two did not intermarry or mix socially.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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614 who started it was Jambuliṅgayya, secretary of the chieftain Bijjanarasu. He had two wives whose descendants occupied upper and lower Ka:ṭe:ri; and later generations from each of these areas founded other Kaṇakka villages, as indicated in Diagram 3.

Both the Kaṇakkas and the Adikiris began to intermarry with Ha:ruvas soon after settling in the hills: Adikiris also married Gauda women, while Kaṇakkas intermarried with Kaggusis and Koṅgaru. This step was forced on these Lingayat clans by a shortage of girls in their own community at that time: properly they should only have married other Lingayats.

KAGGUSIS

These people originated in Tagadu:r, from whose monastery they left as a band of refugee *Jaṅgamas* or monks; one clan of Wodeas had an identical origin. They first settled at the village of Kaggusi, and there left off wearing *liṅgas* because of the necessity to marry with Gauda women and the pollution of their *liṅgas* that would follow as a consequence. Later they spread out to establish or occupy another six villages; but on the occasion of a severe drought some retreated from Kaggusi to the lowlands and founded a village near Ha:sanu:ru, where they still live.

GAUDAS

● 615 Not only are there ten times as many Gaudas as members of any other phratry: their legendary history is proportionately more complex than any other.

Three facts are relevant to a dating of their arrival. The Gaudas themselves claim to have reached the Nilgiris before any other group, and the Lingayats and Ha:ruvas confirm that their ancestors found Gaudas there when they arrived. Secondly, their paramount chief, living at Tu:ne:ri, can number nineteen generations of ancestors, which would put their arrival back to the (174) sixteenth if not the fifteenth century. Thirdly, we may recall that Finicio saw Badagas at the village of Melcuntaõ in 1603. Assuming this was the Gauda village of Me:lkunda—and no other village offers a closer identification than this—we deduce that at least a part of the Gauda population had immigrated a century or

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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two before the Kumba:ra, Be:da and various Lingayat groupings.

This accords with a Badaga tradition that the very first group of migrants were three brothers of the Kasturi sept or clan, who came from Ka:rahaḷḷi and settled in the Ke:ti Valley, Kundena:ḍu and Cinna Kunnu:r.[22] Later the eastern half of the plateau was settled by seven brothers, their sister and her husband. Later still yet other Gaudas went to Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu divisions.

It is not impossible that the Kasturi Gaudas had the same Virashaiva origins as the Adikiris or Wodeas. Some hold the belief that they were at first vegetarians and Lingayats. As so often happened in legendary times a Kasturi tasted meat, for which his daughter made him give up his *liṅga* to her husband, a Lingayat Adikiri. Thereafter the Kasturis intermarried mainly with other Gaudas.[23] A comparable story maintains that some Gaudas of Neḍugula are descended from 'Koṅgaru', Wodeas of Selandi clan, after some fell away from their phratry's principles and were denied *liṅgas* when one of their youths ate meat to please a Gauda girl whom he loved.[24]

Kasturi ('musk'), we may note, is also the name of a sept among the Kanarese Okkaligas. (Thurston, 1909, Vol. I. 75, and Vol, III. 256; see below, p. 79). This too reflects the Gaudas' origin, (especially as many Badagas at the 1891 census enumeration gave their caste as Okkaliga).[25] Today, few Badagas agree to a connexion with the Okkaliga community, conceivably because there are now hundreds of poor Okkaligas on the Nilgiri Plateau, recent immigrants who work as labourers and with whom Badagas do not associate except as employers and landlords. A more likely explanation, however, is that enumerators in 1891 failed to discover that *okkaliga* merely means 'permanent resident' in Baḍagu and is not a clan or caste designation among them. Nonetheless there are informants in the Nilgiris and Ha:sanu:ru who agree to an origin among the Okkaligas of Mysore; and both communities share the same rather distinctive personal names.

There is an ancient settlement of Okkaligas in the Coimbatore Plain, for example at the village of Nellitore from which the Adikiris ascended the Nilgiri slopes. The legend of how they got to Nellitore is worth recounting.

> ... Tippu Sultan wanted to marry an Okkaliga bride. The Okkaligas consented to it at first due to fear of the fanatic king, but subsequently decided to run away. So they dressed up a dog

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 539 like a bride, left it in the house and then ran away towards the south by the night. They were, it seems, chased by the Muslim troops but luckily there were floods in the river as soon as the Okkaligas crossed it. The Muslim troops finding it not possible to cross the river, returned to Mysore and the Okkaligas peacefully settled in the forest marginal areas (Nambiar & Bharathi, 1965, 3).

What is remarkable is that precisely the same legend, admittedly embellished with details from the Book of Exodus (xiv. 21-30), has been offered by Badagas both from the Nilgiris and Ha:sanu:ru to account for their flight from Mysore:

> About three hundred years ago one of the Moslem kings desired one of their daughters, and when she refused marriage he threatened to burn and plunder their villages. But the pride of the people was greater than their fear. To find one of their daughters in the harem of a Moslem dog was something that could not be tolerated...; and so, incited by their priests, they decided to escape.... With women, children, livestock, and all their cherished possessions, they swiftly escaped to the bank of a river which divided the wild tribes of the Nilgiris from the province of the sultan... a part of the army was hastily sent after the fleeing people, who were by that time near the banks of the Mayar, which formed the boundary. But how could they cross over? Strange to say,... the river parted and the followers reached the bank on the other side, while the disciples of the Prophet were suddenly swallowed up by the closing waters (trans. from Rhiem, 1900, 498).

615 As Nellitore is at the foot of the Nilgiri escarpment one is again led to suppose that some Badaga Gaudas derived from this Okkaliga caste. The probability is indeed high, for most Gaudas admit that they came from farming communities in the plains of Southern Mysore, where Okkaligas are today the dominant farming castes.

614 [615] Another important Gauda clan is called Maduve ('marriage') (also the name of a sept; see Diagram 4. Thurston, 1909, Vol. IV, 292). It was founded by a family of seven brothers led by one Aĉĉini, who fled from Talemale with a sister who was in danger of being ravished by a Moslem chieftain there (Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 1; Miles, 1951, 69). 'Each of these brothers is said to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

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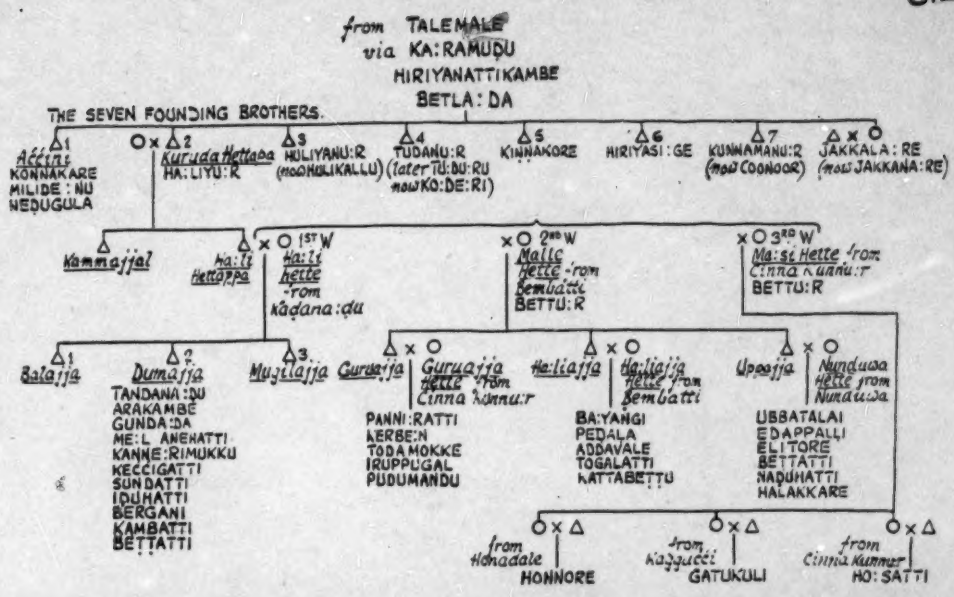

Diagram 4. The descent of the Maduve clan of Gaudas. (Ancestors indicated in italics, villages in capital letters).

[p. 29]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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614 have built a house for himself and his family in different parts of the hills, and new villages were constructed by their descendants; so that the Badagas of this class are now scattered over all the tract...' (except Todana:ḍu) (Metz, 1864, 56-57). The sister's husband founded Jakkane:ri village, which thereafter had close affinal relations with the Maduve clan. As these people had been subject to the chieftain of Hatra Ko:ṭe, the clan was sometimes called Hatra (Metz, 1864, 56-57). That chieftain also maintained a palace north of the Nilgiris, at Talemale, and in the last century people of that area still interdined with these particular Badaga Gaudas (Metz, 1864, 47-48. Today the palace is in ruins; Nicholson, 1892, 426).

• 615 Nineteenth century literature on Badagas refers to numerous other 'castes' and 'sects', but some of these are in reality clans or lineages within the Gauda phratry, and others are septs; for example, the Duma, Kunaja, Ma:ri, Ma:nika and Beḷḷi (Metz, 1864, 57-60; Shortt and Ouchterlony, 1868, 58-59; Grigg, 1880, 221-222; Macleane, 1893, 64; Thurston, 1909, Vol. 1, 75; on septs, see below, 78-80). The total number of named lineages among

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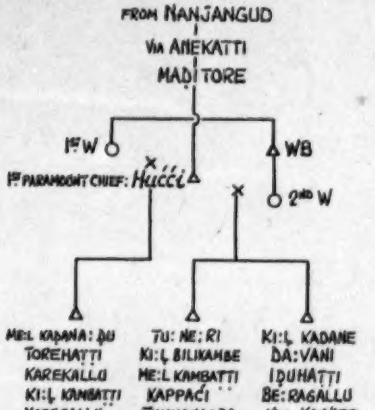

Diagram 5. The villages of Ma:ri clan of Gaudas.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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●615 (614) the Gaudas must approach a hundred: some have legends of origin, too, as do the clans. Ma:ri clan, for instance, to which the paramount chief belongs, migrated from villages near the great temple of Nanjangud bearing an image of the goddess Ma:ri:[26] the Nilgiri villages founded by them are listed in Diagram 5. The Beḷḷi clan, supposedly descended from silversmiths *(beḷḷi,* 'silver'), may be an example of the various lineages started by itinerant tradesmen: usually these can intermarry with any other Gauda (612) lineage or clan. The Selandi sept preserves a vestige of totemism in that the members may not kill spiders *(selandi).*

On the fringes of the plateau one can find quite atypical marriage arrangements. In the southern village of Kiṉṉakore, for example, Gaudas have a lineage intermarrying with Gaudas of the other Kundena:ḍu villages and also with Gaudas and Kanarese Okkaligas living at the foot of the hills in Attapaḍi and Pu:ḍu:r.[27] In eight villages around Ha:sanu:ru, forty kilometres northeast of the plateau, there live about 800 Badagas forming three phratries. They generally find it more convenient now to intermarry among their neighbours (observing clan and sept exogamy) than make the long journey to the Nilgiris in search of spouses.

WAINAD GAUDAS

615 There is no doubt that the small community of Wainad Gaudas (totalling 951 in 1970) is descended from Badaga Gaudas. Apart from their own assertion of it and their continuing intermarriage with Gaudas of Todana:ḍu, certain aspects of their material culture underline the connection: similar nose, ear, finger and ankle ornaments are worn by both communities; they have the same typically Badaga cuisine; and their two dialects are very similar. Furthermore, it is recognized that the people of Nandaṭṭi (in the Wainad), for instance, are agnates to the people of Nunduwa and Ta:mbaṭṭi (in the Nilgiris), although the Nandaṭṭi Gaudas had settled at Gudalu:ru in the Wainad prior to founding Nandaṭṭi twelve generations ago.[28] Once every few years a party of Wainad Gaudas attends the chariot-dragging festival in Nunduwa as a mark of their relationship. Su:lu:ru (in Todana:ḍu) has a similar link with each of the eight Wainad Villages.

The migration down into the Wainad occurred at least two

615 centuries ago and was prompted by shortage of land around some Nilgiri villages and by the acute poverty of farm-land in the Kundena:ḍu area. The Mauntadan Chettis amongst whom the Wainad Gaudas settled came originally from the same Koṅgu country which had been the homeland of many Gaudas. Unlike the Gaudas, however, these Chettis settled directly in the Wainad in medieval times, without pausing first on the Nilgiri Plateau. So close is the association between Mauntadan Chettis and the Todana:ḍu Badagas that these two communities also used to exchange visits on the occasion of some festivals and funerals. Certain Chettis living in the Muḍumalai National Park of the Wainad are called Huliala Gaudas: they went there from the nearby Badaga village of Hullaṭṭi, on the Nilgiris, but now intermarry only with Mauntadan Chettis. The Wainad Gaudas otherwise do not marry with these Chettis although they did so in previous centuries. The two communities interdine and attend each other's ceremonies.

BADAGAS OF HA:SANU:RU

361 Some seven kilometres east of Ha:sanu:ru in the Biligiri Rangan Hills are seven Badaga villages; an eighth lies in Karnataka, thirteen kilometres to the north of that town. These villages are in jungle clearings at an elevation of a thousand metres and were established there at least two centuries ago by Badagas who were
614 forced out of the northern part of the Nilgiris by a famine.[29] The Ha:sanu:ru Gaudas are explicit that they had been Gangadikara Gaudas in Mysore; and they retain precisely the same stories about their flight as are still recounted in the Nilgiris (see above, particularly note 10; Thurston, 1909, Vol, I, 75, and Vol, III, 256; Nambiar, Bharathi, 1965, 3).

TOREAS

615 No legend of a separate origin has been collected from the Toreas. There is a caste of Kannada-speaking Toreas now living in Coimbatore, Salem and Mysore Districts, with whom Badaga Toreas occasionally arrange marriages; but since the dialects of the two differ the practice is most uncommon. Those found in the

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615 plains are said to have once been fishermen and palanquin bearers and are now cultivators, contractors, petty tradesmen and police constables (Thurston, 1909, Vol. VII, 176). Although it is possible that certain Toreas of this caste went to the Nilgiris, at first as palanquin bearers, their occupations in the hills have been cultivators, messengers for the commune headmen and till the mid-nineteenth century weavers; and they were reportedly menials and watchmen for ancestral Badagas even in Mysore (Harkness, 1832, 112; Metz, 1864, 59–60). A common origin for some Nilgiri and lowland Toreas is possible as both belong to the Na:ga and Belli septs, among several others, (as do the A:lu Kurumbas).

Those of the Nilgiris claim their origin in the Gauda phratry and explain their status as the descendants of sons deputed to do certain chores. The Gaudas and Ha:ruvas still call them 'sons,' an ambiguous term that may either refer to their servile status or suggest they are descended from the unsanctioned unions of Gaudas (possibly with non-Gaudas). One astute nineteenth-century observer said of them: '... they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high-caste Badagas, as long as they are sons to them. ...'[30]

BE:DAS, KUMBA:RAS AND HILL FORTS

There are two other small phratries, the Be:das and Kumba:ras, whose origins can best be explored in the context of the hill fortresses where they lived. These forts were outposts of Ummattu:r, a small town in southern Mysore which was tributary to the kings of Vijayanagar in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then to the kings of Mysore in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

> In 1610 one of these, king Rája Wodeyar (Udaiyar) of Mysore, drove out of Seringapatam the Vijayanagar general; and two years later he was granted that place and the Ummattúr country near it by the then nominal king of Vijayanagar... Thenceforth the kings of Mysore became rulers of the Wynaad and titular possessors of the Nilgiri hills, and the latter were apparently under the immediate rule of dependents of theirs called the Udaiyars or Rájas of Ummattúr... (Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 93; cf. Rice, 1897, vol. I, 357, 364; Rea, 1910, 115; Hayavadana Rao, 1930, vol. V, 861–862).

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hundred gold coins from all of Me:kuna:ḍu. Another chieftain was so incensed when the unfortunate paramount chief Tonda did not pay the tribute within a week that, according to legend, 'the Rajah took his head and put it at the front door and the body was put at the back door and the arms and feet were bound on poles near the way' (Metz, 1864, 110). The efforts of the headman of Ba:kola in collecting a record amount of tribute for these chieftains were rewarded with the gift of a silver ring (still in his family) and the title of *parpati*, in Karnataka a revenue officer.[32] That *parpati* (since 1897 a disputed position) is the divisional headman for Me:kuna:ḍu. It was probably the chieftains or commanders of the three hill forts who in the seventeenth century divided the plateau into three areas of influence *(na:ḍu)* for tribute-gathering purposes: Male Ko:ṭe commanded Todana:ḍu, Hatra Ko:ṭe Poraṅga:ḍu, and Pakkasu:ra Ko:ṭe *Me:kuna:ḍu*. '. . . *In consequence of disputes* between the Burghers [Badagas] and Kothers [Kotas] regarding their respective boundaries, a general settlement of their lands took place under the auspices of the three chiefs, when the lines of demarcation were definitively fixed; and. . .ever since, up to the present time, no disputes about them have ever been known to occur.'[33] The fourth division, Kundena:ḍu, was not recognized as one until after 1830 and moreover was so poor until this century that it would have yielded scant tribute, having little cultivation and a proverbial poverty that often forced Kundena:ḍu people to subsist on bamboo shoots or even sell their children into servitude elsewhere on the plateau.[34]

The Lingayat chieftains at both Male Ko:ṭe and Hatra Ko:ṭe invited Lingayats in particular to settle in the hills (Harkness, 1832, 107, 109–110; Congreve, 1847, 122; Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 12). This was the origin of theWodeas who continued to be Lingayat priests, the Adikiris who were magistrates, and the Kaṇakkas, village accountants and therapists. At about the same time (early seventeenth century) the Be:das were brought to the hills from Hullaṅgu:r, just to the north, as hunters or tax gatherers.[35] They were heartily disliked, but they settled permanently outside the walls of Male Ko:ṭe and probably near Hatra Ko:ṭe too. Kumba:ras also came in the palace retinue and settled near the fortresses. Some, however, who came from Vella:di in Mysore, intermarried only with Gaudas and settled at Me:lu:r. The Gaudas of Aććaṇakal, near Ke:ti, claim descent from the Lingayats of Ummattu:r.

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Male Ko:ţe

615 Male Ko:ţe ('mountain fort') was also known as Hussainabad under Tippu Sultan's régime. The fort, made of mud faced with stone, encircled by a ditch, was reputedly built some three or four centuries ago by two brothers, Sadasiva Raja and Bhujanga Raja (otherwise Bijjanarasu or Bujjaliṅgarasu). These men came from Ummattu:r in the service of its chieftain and acted as *jammis* or tribute collectors for the Nilgiri area.

A variant tradition, notable for its detail, claims that Lord Bujjaliṅga was himself the chieftain of Ummattu:r. This may have been a local misconception; but it is known that he had a son or brother named Bijjanarasu, and a son named Rudrarasu. He also had a Kaṇakka secretary by the name of Sivaliṅgayya whose younger brother Jambuliṅgayya acted as secretary to Bijjanarasu. Bujjaliṅga (presumably in the seventeenth century) wanted to incorporate the Nilgiris into his realm. He went there with a large retinue, and on the plains just to the north of the Si:gu:ru slopes he built a Lingayat monastery, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Sembanatta Math (originally called Jambunath). From there the chieftain moved to Nellapaṭṭana, a few kilometers away, and there built a fort which is still partly standing. Later he ascended the slopes and established a camp at Ko:ṭaṭṭi, near So:lu:ru; and later still he built Male Ko:ţe nearby.

After conquering the Nilgiris the chieftain was paid an annual tribute of 900 gold coins (but whence?) by the headman of So:lu:ru. Once in control Lord Bujjaliṅga took seven men on a trip to examine Mukurti Peak.[36] On the way there one of these Badagas who was conversant with omens or astrology announced that the time was inauspicious, but Bujjaliṅga went on with the excursion. Meanwhile the watchman at Male Ko:ţe[37] sent word to Bujjaliṅga's elder brother, who immediately captured the fort. Bujjaliṅga then moved to Nelliala in the Wainad, for he was afraid to return to Male Ko:ţe. Later his secretary went back to the hills and built a house in the Kaṇakka village of Hajju:r (where inscribed palm leaves are now kept), while the chieftain apparently retained control of the fortress from his brother.

It is recalled that once while staying at Male Ko:ţe he was '...invited by the then Náyar chief of Nelliálam to help him against his brother, who had turned him out. Bhujanga [Bujjaliṅga] did so with success; so much so that he took Nelliálam for his

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615 own and drove out the whole of the Nâyar family.'[38] No wonder the brothers had found it advisable to erect sturdy mud-forts wherever they went!

Their family thus became the chieftains of Nelliala as well as tax gatherers for the Nilgiris. For their own convenience, as we have seen, the brothers brought with them some Kanarese Be:das and Kumba:ras to act as servants, and Wodeas to be their family priests. Gaudas in the commune of Tu:degu:r (which surrounds Male Ko:te) claim to have come from ten villages immediately north of the Nilgiri slopes, also in the retinue of these chieftains. They also maintained a small garrison, originally under Udaiya Raya (or perhaps Rudrayya), a Kanarese Lingayat who was responsible for the actual construction of Male Ko:te and the more easterly fortress known as Udaiya Raya Ko:te or Hatra Ko:te. This man was an astute strategist; he was probably identical with Bujjalinga's son Rudrarasu, or otherwise an experienced military commander. In his old age he retired to Nelliala to build yet another fortress.

The tax collectors of Nelliala continued in office at Male Ko:te without serious interruption until either Tippu Sultan or his father drove them back to Nelliala, mutilated the Vishnu images there and took over their Nilgiri fortress (Francis, 1908, 371). With the fleeing chieftain of the day went some Badagas, who became Wainad Gaudas, and a small party of Todas who settled near Nelliala and indeed remained there until about 1925 (Harkness, 1832, 166–167, note).

It is certain that this and the other hill-forts were occupied by Haidar Ali's troops, too. 'He ... appears to have seized upon two of the three forts which commanded the passes ..., viz. Hoolicul Droog and Mullaycotta, and having deepened their ditches, heightened their walls, and otherwise strengthened them, he put strong garrisons into them, which both controlled the Hill tribes, and observed and harrassed the kingdoms below them' (Ouchterlony, 1848, 82). Furthermore,

> He undoubtedly collected revenue on the plateau ... his officers used to despoil whole villages of all their grain and force the ryots [peasants] to carry their own plundered property down to Dannâyakankôttai ... which he had re-named Sharifâbâd and where he kept a strong force and a big magazine.[39]

A worthier aspect of his revenue administration was that he 'had

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•615 abolished the ancient system of division of produce and had introduced a fixed money assessment on the cultivated lands of each village' (Grigg, 1880, 312).

The last occupant of the fort was Syyud Budan, a captain *(killidar)* in charge of sixty or seventy infantrymen from Tippu's army. The fort was then named Hussainabad. It had two watchposts nearby, built by Tippu's men and armed with two small cannon, where the Moslems kept watch for forces coming from the direction of Nelliala. Every two months the garrison was relieved from Dannaika Ko:ṭe, in the Coimbatore Plain.[40] After quiet surrender to the Madras Regiment in 1791 (Phythian-adams, 1958, 87), the fort was deserted, and today stands in ruins. But meanwhile, what of the Nelliala chieftain who was attacked by Tippu's forces?

> The then chief, another Sadâsiva Râja Urs, is said to have submitted to them and helped them in an attack upon Nambalakód [a neighbouring territory in the Wainad]. When Tipu's men withdrew, the chief of Nambalakód fell upon Nelliálam in revenge, and the then Arasu [chieftain] was so hard pressed that he hurriedly despatched his pregnant wife and her handmaidens into the surrounding jungle and then, to avoid capture, committed suicide in front of the gate of his fort, which was afterwards plundered by the men of Nambalakód. Such is the family tradition.[41]

But the chieftain's family lost even more than honour, leader and headquarters, for the right to collect tribute in Todana:ḍu passed after Tippu's defeat from them to the victorious house of Nambalako:du, eight kilometers away from Nelliala. Although by 1830 the Nilgiris were under the Collector of Coimbatore this headman still had the right to collect taxes in Todana:ḍu, which he referred to as *nañgana:ḍ* ('our division') (Baber, 1830, 314-315). Early in the nineteenth century he used to receive some 6,000 rupees annually from Todana:ḍu.[42]

It is remarkable that for two centuries after the eclipse of the Nelliala chieftains with the dramatic suicide just described, the Badagas of Todana:ḍu still maintained a close relationship with this tragic family. Until about 1950 they would visit Nelliala to resolve some difficult disputes as well as to pay their respects during major family ceremonies. This family is still Lingayat and

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615 Kannada-speaking and until fifty years ago continued to intermarry with the Lords of Ummattu:r.[43]

Hatra Ko:te

Hatra Ko:te otherwise known as Udaiya Raya Ko:te or simply Atra, and nowadays called Ko:te Ha:da ('fort terrace'), has been described elsewhere (Congrēve, 1847, 121-122; Francis, 1908, 333-334; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 105-106) and needs little discussion here. It lies seven kilometers southeast of Kotagiri, on a terrace in Burnside Estate where no traces of the building and few of the moats can now be found. Badaga tradition suggests that Udaiya Raya, a Shaivite chieftain, also built the fort on the plains at Kollandore, near Sirumuge in Coimbatore District (Congreve, 1847, 122; Francis, 1908, 333-334). He conquered all of the Poraṅga:ḍu villages and won from them an annual tribute of 700 gold coins. This Poraṅga:du revenue passed through these two forts to Ummattu:r, while only the Todana:du tribute was collected at Male Ko:te. Hatra Ko:te was captured by Haidar Ali in the late eighteenth century and was also occupied by a Moslem garrison under his son Tippu. At that time it bore the name Syyudabad, and the hundred soldiers there under a captain (a *killidar*) named Ali Khan were responsible to a commander at Dannaika Ko:te in the plains below (Harkness, 1832, 126; Macleane, 1893, 1023). Here, as at Male Ko:te, the garrison was 'to keep the mountaineers in check and also to assist the Sultan's servants in collecting the yearly revenue' (Ward, 1821, lxv).

175 167 To summarize our conclusions briefly, the migrations from Mysore in all probability began by the start of the sixteenth century and became more intensive during the anarchy that followed the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire (1565). The question of when immigration ceased depends on two items of historical evidence: Finicio saw some Badagas at Me:lkunda in 1603, and scarcely any new villages have been established since the British arrived in 1819.[45] The answer thus lies between these two dates, and we conclude that before 1819 the Badagas had formed a closed community. The absence of any Vaishnavites among them favours the earlier dating for the termination of their migrations.[46] What led to their ultimate synoecism as a single community we can only guess.

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NOTES

000 1. See Ward, 1821, lxx. *Baḍaga* is pronounced with stress on the first syllable.

615 2. They do not intermarry with other Badagas but find spouses either within their own phratry or from castes also called Kumba:ras and Be:das in southern Mysore.

174 175 3. The first European to write of Badagas was St. Francis Xavier, who in 1542–1544 described them as a 'horde of plundering ruffians', 'bloodthirsty horsemen' and 'savage brigands'; see Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 218, 234–235. These people are said to have been royal tax gatherers in Travancore, where they bore the name Badagas or Vadhougers because of their northern origin. They greatly oppressed St. Francis' converts among the Travancore fisherfolk; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, *passim*, and Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 266. Elsewhere they are stated to have come from Vijayanagar; see Maffei, 1589, vol. I, pt. 4, 431; Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 219, n. 12. It seems unlikely that they had any connexion with the Nilgiri Badagas, especially as some authorities consider them Telugu speakers; see Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2, n. 1; Grigg, 1880, 219; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 830–831.

000 4. India now has about four million Lingayats; except for the Districts of Kolhapur (Maharashtra), Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), Coimbatore and the Nilgiris they are found solely within Karnataka State.

5. Belli Gowder was a Badaga antiquarian; in his unpublished notes he mistakenly took this date for 1212; Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 5.

6. Francis, 1908, 129; his claim that Baḍagu has *beṭṭa* for modern Kannada *beṭṭu* ('hill') is incorrect: the reverse would be true.

7. Congreve, 1847, 96–98; Grigg, 1880, 243; Sewell, 1882, 226. There is a grant of A.D. 1120 stating that Vishhuvardhana, the first Hoysaḷa king, 'turned the Nīla mountain into a city'; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 92. The Toda name for the area is *pin tīḷ*, 'gold mountain'; Francis, 1908, 357.

174 8. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 24–26; and 1938–1941, 5–6. It was the grandfather of Tu:ne:ri's founder who migrated from Mysore, at about the time the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed.

175 9. He reports three 'villages' but there may have been more at the time, especially if the word *u:r* ('commune') has been incorrectly translated as 'village' or if other settlers later considered Badagas were not then treated as such or were not known of in that part of the plateau. An inscription on a dolmen at Me:lu:ru relating to a tiger and a grant bears the Śa:ka date 1518 (A.D. 1596), but since it is in Tamil it perhaps has nothing to do with the Badagas; Breeks, 1873, 102–103; Grigg, 1880, 240. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 100, disagrees with this view; he believes the dolmen to have been erected more recently by two Gaundans.

10. Ward, 1821, lxx-lxxi; Harkness, 1832, 109. Certain villages still claim to have been founded by an official from Ummattu:r.

177 764 193 11. Benbow, 1930, 1–3; Karl, 1945, 1. A reference to the Mysorean practice of wearing a *sa:ri* is to be found in the funeral symbolism, wherein a female corpse is offered a piece of coloured cloth *(baṇṇa)*. Legend maintains that when the seven brothers of Maduve clan were fleeing from Mysore they left behind a baby slung from the rafters in a *sa:ri*. In token of their grief the women never more used *sa:ris* or cradles after settling in the Nilgiris.

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000 12. This usage accords with the definition in recent editions of Webster's *Dictionary*, e.g., 1967, 460. See below, p. 181, n. 2.

13. See below, pp. 223–225; also Diagram 9. There was supposedly a Christian community—but not necessarily of Badagas—near Avalanchi in the Kundena:ḍu division in medieval times: Finicio came in search of it, and the Todas have a legend about it: see Finicio, 1603, 719–720; Metz, 1864, 44; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106.

14. Metz, 1864, 53. The correct name for Seringapatam is Sri Raṅga Paṭṭana. On septs, see below, pp. 78–80.

15. The fact that Adikiris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Baḍagu is explained by their ready intermarriage with Gaudas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis; the Wodeas, Be:das, and Kumba:ras are mainly endogamous groupings.

16. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754; Francis, 1908, 131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73; Jogi Gowder, no date, 1: it is a Brahmin sept in Mysore.

17. Metz, 1864, 56; Macleane, 1893, 64. The same was true of Kaggusis; see below, p. 89.

18. Harkness, 1832, 106–107, note; Noble, 1976, 115–117; for Badaga polyandry, see Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754, 832, and Stuart, 1893, 243. Todas and Kurubas still practise polyandry; Thurston, 1906, 108–113.

614 19. Metz, 1864, 50–51; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 28. Adigaraṭṭi. dérives from *adikari* ('powerful man') and *haṭṭi* ('village'). A variant of this legend has the early Adikiris following a chieftain named Kariabeṭṭa Ra:ya who, like Moses, was fated to lead them to the promised land without setting foot on it himself. After passing through Ha:sanu:ru to Nellitore and staying there for a time, they went on to Attupaḍi, at the foot of the southeast slopes, and some settled there. Their Lingayat descendants still inhabit that village but are now Gaudas. The chieftain led the remainder on to found another village called Nerben, in Kundena:ḍu; it no longer exists. After the chieftain had died there some of the settlers went on to Nedika:ḍ, near Adigaraṭṭi, and soon founded the latter village. Descendants of the chieftain's family and retinue thus came to be called 'powerful men' because of their association with him, in recognition of which the *janmis* gave them the duty of village magistrates.

[562] 20. The pollution of having eaten meat can be removed from men alone.

000 21. Metz, 1864, 50–54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. The correct name for the outpost usually called Dannaika Koṭṭe or Danayakan Koṭṭe is Da:na Na:yaka Koṭṭe, 'the fort of the commander Dana;' Nicholson, 1898, 425–426. It was established in 1318 by Madappa Daṇḍanāyaka, who then was ruling over the Nilgiris and Wainad; Rea, 1910, 111; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 100. On Koḷḷandore, see below.

● 615 175 22. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 29–30; Karl, 1945, 2; the eldest, a cripple, settled at Ċinna Kunnu:r. Among the very early villages in *Todana:ḍu* were Kaḍana:ḍu, settled from Ka:rahaḷḷi (near Tagadu:r); Tu:ḍegu:r E:koni, from Kavaspadi (or Agasvadi) or che Tayu:r; Ċinna Kunnu:r, from Koṅgaḷḷi (near Ummattu:r); Ebbana:ḍu, from Urigaddige or Hosahaṭṭi; Ku:kalu, from Guṇḍuḷupe:te; Honatale, from Honhaḷḷi; and So:lu:ru, from Su:lu:r. The earliest *Me:kuna:ḍu* villages were Me:lu:ru, settled from Urigaddige or Veḷḷa:di; Tu:ḍu:ru, settled by the fourth of seven brothers from Poraṅga:ḍu and later deserted; Ta:mbaṭṭi, also settled from Poraṅga:ḍu; Ki:ru:ru and

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Nunduwa, settled from Urigaddige; Hulikal, from Honhalli; and Ke:ti, from Kongalli. The earliest *Kundena:du* villages were also settled from Kongalli. Apart from Honatale, Ki:ru:ru and Nunduwa, each of the above Badaga villages became the head of a commune as other hamlets grew up around it; and each is marked as head of a commune by having a ceremonial stone structure called *akka bakka*.

23. Another name sometimes given the Kasturis is Gangalu:ru; Metz, 1864, 58–59. This is quite possibly a variant of Gangadikara, the name of a large section of Okkaligas.

24. Metz, 1864, 49–50; Grigg, 1880, 221; Tignous, 1911, 117. A variant account is that he thought he had eaten meat, though the item was really a wild vegetable in the curry.

25. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 74. It may be significant that in the same census certain Okkaligas in Mysore gave their subcaste as Badagar; Rice, 1897, vol. I, 229. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 80, derives only the Kasturi clan from Gangadikaras, but Gaudas of Ha:sanu:ru claim the same origin.

26. Metz, 1864, 47–48, 57–58; he gave the villages as Tayu:r and Tagadu:r. Tayu:r had a well-built mud fortress on a river bank. By 1801 it was in ruins and the countryside showed signs of having been much more cultivated in previous times; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 150–151.

27. Finicio possibly passed through Pa:du:r in 1603, causing the Badagas to flee to the jungle; Finicio, 1603, 729–730.

28. Baber, 1830, 314; for an instance of intermarriage between Nandalli and So:lu:ru see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

29. This account of their migration is confirmed by villagers in that part of the plateau.

30. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 755; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. A comparable usage is found in southern Mysore; see Epstein, 1962, 181.

31. Balu, 1960, 4. This story is not accurate in its details, for in 1760 the Governor of Madurai was an English creature, Yusuf Khan; perhaps Balu was referring to a skirmish with a tributary chieftain *(pa:layaka:r)*, but one bearing a suspiciously medieval name!

32. Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 136. This and other rings still in the possession of several headmen were given by Chikka Deva Raya (1672–1704), who supposedly took Kadana:du from Ummattu:r in 1676; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 100; Wilks, 1930, vol. II, 225; Emeneau, 1971, 102.

33. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81, see below, p. 170. Pakkasu:ra, the chief of Hulikal Drug, is depicted in Badaga myth as a demon, whom the villagers had to feed with a daily cartful of rice complete with driver, until he was finally slain by the hero Bhima; compare Congreve, 1847, 142; Francis, 1908, 329. This story is a parochialized version of one in the *Mahabharata* I, 160; for 'the three kings or chiefs of the mountains,' see Harkness, 1832, 120. An inscription at Rampura, west of Nanjangud (Mysore), dated to A.D. 1504, describes one Govanna-Odeyar, a native of that place, as 'champion over the three kings, protector of the Nilagiri;' Rice, 1894, vol. III, 100, 191, n. 47. Emeneau, 1971, 1, records 'three kingdoms' in Toda thinking.

34. The exceptional nature of Kundena:du is underlined by the common Badaga phrase, 'All the four divisions, including Kunda.' The relative recency of its settlement is also indicated by the fact that it lies to the west of Me:kuna:-

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615 ḍu—which means 'western division.' Keys, 1812, xlviii; Macpherson, 1820, lviii; Ward, 1821, lxi; Keys erroneously calls Todana:ḍu 'Kothanaud.'

35. Previously they had come there from Na:gatalli, in Mysore.

36. Their names are still recalled, and they came from the Badaga villages of Tu:degu:r, Kaḍana:ḍu, Ha:latti, Ebbana:ḍu and Ku:kalu. Mukurti is a celebrated landmark in the western Nilgiris, a peak reputedly formed when Ra:ma cut off the nose of Ra:vana's sister and dropped it at this place; Jagor, 1876, 202.

37. Murudan, son of a horse Badaga woman.

38. Francis, 1908, 371; thus also Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 101. The conquered chieftain was Vandur Kovilagam.

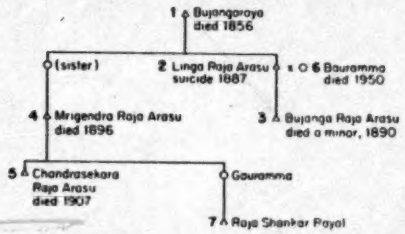
000 39. Francis, 1908, 330; (he errs in identifying Pakkasu:ra Ko:je as Tippu's Syyudabad); Ouchterlony, 1848, 82.

615 40. Harkness, 1832, 59. One of these watchposts was in fact a small natural mesa surrounded by sheer cliffs, the access to which could be controlled by two or three armed men. It stands above and to the west of the Si:gu:ru ghat road.

41. Francis, 1908, 371: 'other accounts state that the family fled from Mysore State as late as the time of Tipu and settled in Nellilam under the permission of the Pychy rebel . . .

42. Poraṅga:ḍu and Me:kuṇa:ḍu at that time were paying a similar sum to two other *jannis*, one the Padignacar Kolgum (i.e., Padinnara Kovilagam), a chief of the Samuri (Zamorin) family, the other Pandalur Nayar, of South Malabar; Baber, 1830, 314-315; compare Finicio, 1603, 729.

43. Francis, 1908, 350, 370; Kariabettan, 1958a, 14. About fifty years ago the family of the Ummattu:r Lords in their ancestral home at Bagalli (five kilometers from Ummattu:r) sold all remaining lands and left the area. Bauramma, last Queen of Nelliala, was born about the year of the Indian Mutiny; she died at the age of 94, whereupon Raja Shankar Rayal sold what remained of the realm and retired to Mysore. The recent rulers are indicated in this diagram numbered in order of their succession.



000 44. There are modern Badaga theorists who claim for the community an overseas origin as Jews or a northern origin as Buddhists from Bengal, Assam or Nepal; these ideas are based on very flimsy parallels in culture and vocabulary.

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Social Groupings

615 The extensive oral history surveyed in Chapter 1 helps clarify distinctive features of each clan and phratry, identifying their different places of origin, the various routes they took into the hills and the sequence in which they arrived.[1] These legends are more than fictional entertainment: they validate the continued occupancy of each village by members of a particular clan.

121 We now raise a sociological question that is intended to clarify subsequent chapters: once the migrants had settled in the Nilgiris, how was marriage regulated, and how was the continuance of social units ensured from one generation to the next? (We admit at the outset that how they happened to synoecize into the Badaga community is a question which remains unanswered.)

Indian caste society has usually been described in terms of joint family, lineage, clan and *jati* (subcaste), but in the Badaga case—which fits a caste model imperfectly—we will refer to the following categories instead. These social units are listed in order of increasing breadth:

A.	Joint patrilocal family	(exogamous; occupies one village)
B.	Minimal lineage	(exogamous; occupies one village)
C.	Minor lineage	(exogamous; occupies one village)
D.	Major lineage	(exogamous; occupies one or several villages)
E.	Maximal lineage	(exogamous; occupies one or several villages)

[p. 71]

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unilinear kin group in which actual descent from a common male ancestor is now only a presumption (Gillin, 1948, 439; Murdock 1949, 66; Firth, 1951, 53; for fuller information on Badaga kinship, see Hockings, in press).

At this level of social organization the unit is spatially widespread: two clans are confined to a single village each (only among Kumba:ras); others are represented in clusters of nearby villages, while over half the forty-four clans are Nilgiri-wide in occurrence.

Clans are relevant in the arrangement of marriages, for there are fixed rules about which clans may marry; for example, Adikiris may marry Ha:ruvas but never Kaggusis. Clans may also form a community of interest for the pursuit of really serious disputes. In 1897, for instance, the Ha:ruvas of two different lineages in neighbouring villages were in dispute over which should have precedence during the annual fire-walking ceremony at Me:lu:ru. Having arrived at a compromise by which each group celebrated the festival on the alternate years, the whole Ha:ruva clan laid claim to a higher status than Wodeas, Adikiris or Kaṇakkas. A schism within the Ha:ruva clan has not emerged since (see below, pp. 203–204).

PHRATRY

Among the Badagas two to fourteen clans form a larger unit that we call the *phratry*. Most of these phratries and some of the clans have been called sects or subcastes by previous authors, if only because they are named social units. It is manifestly confusing, however, to apply the same term to two quite distinguishable kinds of social unit. A phratry is usually defined as a grouping of two or more clans whose members assume a conventional bond of kinship which, though undemonstrable, is at least supported with a story of their common origin. In the Badaga community most phratries are non-exogamous, but in certain cases exogamy is tolerated; no Badaga phratry is strictly endogamous (Lowie, 1948, 338; compare Diagram 7). The phratries each carry a distinguishable subculture. The smaller in size are divided into two clans, identifiable as agnates and affines. Phratries with more than about a thousand members have a larger number of clans and thus a more complex [illegible] the two thousand [illegible]as

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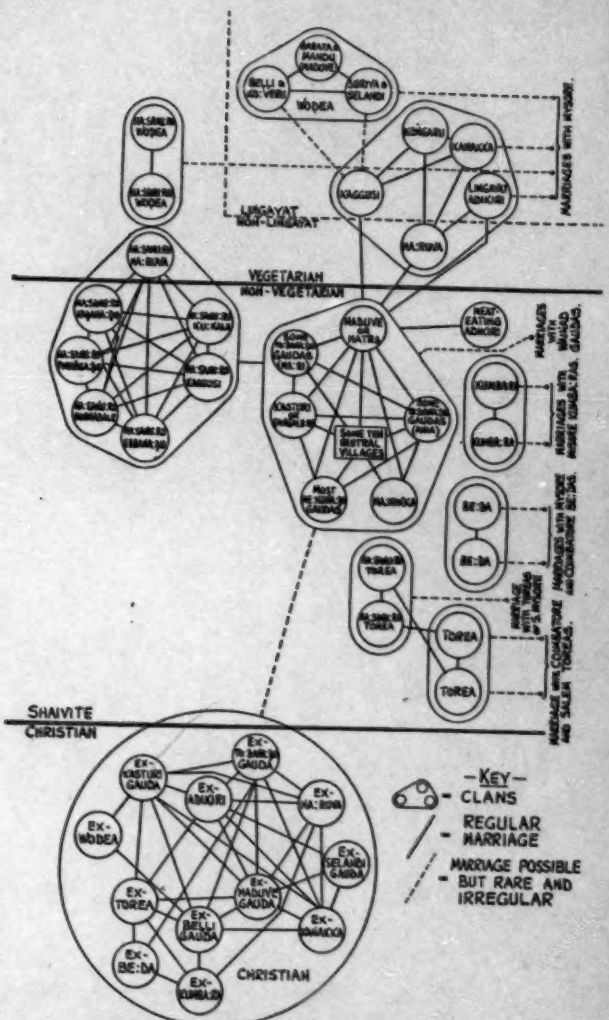

Diagram 7. The Badaga clans and phratries

[p.76]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

612 (614) in already established septs a helpful guide, the rule of sept exogamy and the wide knowledge of their names protecting against in-breeding between families from the same descent group.

In former times the septs were quasi-totemic, as elsewhere in India.[3] One old lady of Selandi ('spider') sept recently asserted that members of that collectivity should never kill a spider; Wodeas of Belli ('silver') sept may not wear silver ornaments; Toreas, however, no longer have a special relation with the cobra though some belong to Na:ga ('cobra') sept and were formerly forbidden to kill it.

The Badagas do not distinguish between what Lévi-Strauss (following S.V. Karandikar) calls big and little *gotras* (septs). 'Big' *gotras* are said to be of recent Brahminic origin and few in number; whereas 'little' *gotras* 'appearing sometimes as territorial groups, sometimes as lineages, as clans or subdivisions of a clan, sometimes patrilineal and sometimes matrilineal, are ... the object of exogamous rules of great complexity' (trans. from Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 478–479). Clearly the Badaga septs are 'little' *gotras*. As such they were concerned, not with political divisions or different schools of ritual, but solely with the arrangement of marriage alliances. Each of their sixteen septs is distributed through one or several clans; conversely, the Gaudas belong to seven septs, and other phratries to as few as two septs.

JATI, MARRIAGE PREFERENCE AND ROLE AMBIGUITY

615 Although it is possible to view the society as a pair of moieties, the phratries, like social units in nearly every part of India, are ranked by members into a hierarchy about which there is considerable but not total agreement.[4]

All Hindu Badagas agree that the Christians are now the lowest phratry, and this estimation is reflected in disapproval of intermarriage and a lack of formal interdining between Christians and the higher phratries. There is also agreement that the Toreas are next lowest; higher groups should neither dine nor intermarry with them. At the other end of the scale there is near-universal accord on the supreme position of Wodeas. Though the great majority of the community are not Lingayats they cite the purity of a Wodea's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his sectarian observances as

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 support for his high rank. Many also maintain that the Wodeas were descended from ancient Virashaiva Lingayats, reached the Nilgiris before any other Lingayats and came as priests, for which reasons too they deserve primacy.

178 615 Nobody disputes with the Christians or the Toreas for their lowly position, not even the Kota tribe who find themselves ranked lower still. On the other hand there is a movement now afoot to accord the Ha:ruvas higher status than the Wodeas: this springs from the minority who support a pro-Ha:ruva and pro-music faction. The mechanics of upward mobility for Ha:ruvas, a vegetarian group since its inception, have been to abrogate marital links with lower clans. The Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas (non-vegetarians), Kongaru (vegetarians), Kanakkas and Adikiris (both Lingayat vegetarians). At present the frequency of marriage with Gaudas is decreasing noticeably, so that the Ha:ruvas are shifting away from their lower-status affines while becoming more closely linked by marriage with the Lingayats, though not adopting Lingayat religious practices themselves.

114 121 615 564 [582] Recently Mandelbaum (1970, 20) has described the Badagas as a *jati*-cluster. It is true that the units often identified as subcastes are now thought to constitute a hierarchy; but *none* of the ten is totally endogamous like a *jati*. Hypogamous marriages occur as often as hypergamous ones, a state of affairs not found between *jatis*, especially as marriage may take place between vegetarian and non-vegetarian Badagas. The ceremonial and economic links that one expects between *jatis* are of no consequence here except at the top of the hierarchy: Wodeas and Ha:ruvas do have attenuated ritual roles to play for the rest of the community, though over the past forty years these have been almost abandoned. Such linkages between the groupings are slight as compared with the economic and ceremonial ties between any Badaga village and its nearest Kota neighbour. These facts do not really justify calling the Badaga community a hierarchy or cluster of *jatis*: the concept of *jati* is unnecessary to this analysis. Phratry is the usual word by which anthropologists identify a grouping of clans, and there is no need to depart from that form here, especially as by doing so we might conjure up ideas of multi-caste villages, *jati* endogamy and *jati* occupational specialization which find no place in Badaga social organization although they are widespread in India.

114 M.N. Srinivas (personal comment, 1965) is probably right in suggesting, however, that at some point in the past, perhaps a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

• 615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Şu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Belli septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Aṅgala monastery where they were *Jaṅgama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36-37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kaṇakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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food (always vegetarian) only in the outer, less-sacred part of a Wodea house. Members of the Nilgiri tribes accept food from the Wodeas too, but are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the house.

KOṄGARU

These people, like Ha:ruvas, wear a single thread without *liṅga* and are vegetarian. They intermarry with Kaṇakkas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis. There are four villages of Kongaru.

HA:RUVAS

Like the Wodeas, the one clan of Ha:ruvas numbers about four thousand people. They occupy only six villages, but this does not imply that the villages are unusually large, for very often a Ha:ruva family lives permanently in a Gauda village. Perhaps half the Ha:ruvas are so distributed, as they have traditionally been priests in Gauda and Torea temples. Of the five clans making up the phratry to which they belong (the only unnamed one), Ha:ruvas alone have challenged the Wodeas for primacy in the social hierarchy. The ramifications of this claim will be explored when the Badaga factions are discussed (see below, pp. 203–204).

Ha:ruvas are vegetarian Shaivites but not Lingayats. For over a century they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before leaving Mysore and that they should therefore be treated as such.[11] This Brahminization, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Kherwar movement in the Santal tribe (Orans, 1965, 36–37), has been primarily an attempt to gain higher rank. Little of Ha:ruva behaviour accords with that of true Mysore Brahmins, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the observable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across the left shoulder and they have acted as temple priests to the great majority of Shaivite Badagas.[12]

Despite these arguments the subculture of the Ha:ruvas is for Brahmins a most atypical one: they have no special ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread and do not consider themselves 'twice-born'; the thread itself has only one strand instead of the customary three; until this century they were totally illiterate in Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada; and they are altogether exoga-

614 agriculturists like all other Badagas they once held the monopoly
(162) over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg, 1880, 221). Their name means 'accountant', and refers to their former position as village accoun-
(795) tants under the Ummattu:r régime. Although the Kaṇakkas are Lingayats and today have a status equal to the Adikiris', there are some Badagas who whisper darkly that Kaṇakkas were in origin
(186) Tamilian, unlike all others. The Kaṇakka clan themselves would not own to this, for experience with Tamil Nadu officials has led most Badagas to look down upon the Tamilian.

Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikiris, Ha:ruvas, Koṅgaru and Kaggusis and during this century some have married girls from Lingayat families of Mysore villages. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeas have been cited above. As Kaṇakkas and Adikiris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other clan, and as both are Lingayat groups, they are now
(264) accorded equal status by all other Badagas. The rules for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those of Adikiris.

KAGGUSIS

(162) Among the smaller clans is the Kaggusi, numbering about two
(795) thousand. The people inhabit eight villages: they are vegetarians and Lingayats, but instead of wearing a personal *liṅga* they have one sacred *rudrakśa* bead on a string round the neck and do a daily *pu:ja* to that. Their marriages are mainly with Gaudas, though also with Kaṇakkas and occasionally Wodeas. As soon as Kaggusi men reached the plateau and married Gauda girls they left off wearing the *liṅga* and kept it in their houses, as they still do. It is noteworthy that Adikiris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, as Kaṇakkas *do* marry them, the Kaggusis must be fictive brothers to the Adikiris (although the two in fact belong to different septs); yet no such argument stops the Adikiri from marrying a Ha:ruva though logic dictates that it should. An explanation lies in the higher status Adikiris accord to Ha:ruvas.

(264) Kaggusis allow vegetarians and the meat-eating Gaudas into the inner room for a meal, but they feed the lower meat-eating phratries in the outer room. Members of other tribes may eat only on the veranda.

GAUDAS

● 615 About eighty per cent of the entire population is Gauda, so that

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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this particular phratry is commonly called 'Badaga'. At a rough estimate it numbers eighty thousand. I prefer to use the correct but not widely recorded name Gauda, as it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling one phratry and the entire community by the same name. The word *Gauda* also points to their derivation from the Kanarese farmers and cattle-breeders known by that name (a branch of the Okkaliga caste; Thurston, 1906; vol. II, 269–272).

The Badaga Gaudas today occupy some three hundred villages; hence, unlike the members of a smaller phratry, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every village. Often a man cannot be too certain about whether a particular *distant* village belongs to his own or to another clan. This can raise difficulties when a marriage is being arranged with a village into which the groom's lineage or village has not previously married. Otherwise, the Gaudas can assign every village with which they have marriage connexions to one clan or another (aside from some special cases).

So far as I can ascertain the Gaudas have six clans plus ten 'neutral' villages which may have marriage relationships with any other Gauda village. It appears—and informants confirm this—that the unwieldly size of clans with over ten thousand different kinds of solution. The first employs divisional boundaries—the only situation in which the larger political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that clan exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two villages *within* the same division. If the village is in any of the other three divisions, and if there is no known precedent of a marriage with that particular village, then it is usually *treated* as a member of another clan even though it would be possible to argue that it belonged to the same clan were the villagers to trace out a network of other known marriage connexions that indirectly link the two villages. If in one's own division two villages A and B have both had marriages with village C, then A and B usually belong to the same clan and call themselves 'brothers'. But if the villages A and B are in different political divisions then the fact that at some time they both married people from (or into) village C—which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the plateau—is deemed irrelevant. In practice, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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knowledge by saying: 'After all, the connexion is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood.' In effect they are giving up the ideal of clan exogamy in these cases while retaining the more meaningful ideal of village and lineage exogamy. The clans have now become so large that Gaudas can no longer look upon them as corporate groups. This adjustment in thinking is necessary because the old names for the clans have been forgotten and because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field—often embracing over three hundred people—coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages could otherwise make the ideal of clan exogamy totally unrealizable.

There is another manipulation to surmount this problem. Ten non-exogamous Gauda villages are in a sense of 'neutral' clan affiliation: that is, they may arrange marriages in their own village or with any Gauda clan without generally being accused of marrying within a prohibited degree. They thus form a kind of safety valve: the precedent of a marriage with one of these villages can be used to validate any other village's membership of a particular clan. This is possible because the six clans are not generally known by names now (though at least two of them still were in the last century): they are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning *'agnates' and 'affines' (or 'our clan' and 'another* clan'). These special villages also act as a kind of reservoir of youths and girls eligible to *any* Gauda village needing spouses.

Though the vast majority of Gauda marriages are within this complicated system of clans and neutral villages, a number of permissible marriages have also been arranged with other phratries. Ha:ruvas marry into Gauda families, though now with decreasing frequency; the meat-eating Adikiris, a small clan, have no marriages outside the Gauda phratry to which they therefore belong in sense if not name.[16] A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls with Gauda boys, usually those with college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among urbanizing Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their 'freer' interaction with men. When a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to a clan other than her groom's.

Gaudas, like Badaga Christians, are usually meat-eaters. They are willing to eat in the houses of any other phratry but the Toreas and the Christians. Adikiris, Kaṇakkas and Wodeas offer Gaudas

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

262 food in the outer room only, whereas Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis
264 allow them to eat in the inner room. Such dining occasions usually
615 arise when Gaudas visit families related to them through marriage. In each of these cases the Gaudas receive only vegetarian food; more generally the vegetarian phratries do not eat with non-vegetarians. Toreas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda home, but meat-eating Adikiris (who may marry Gaudas) eat in the inner one.

KUMBA:RAS

615 Few Badagas know of the existence of this phratry, so small are its numbers. They have only fifty households, or about 300 people, (162) who live in two villages near Male Ko:ṭe, where they were once employed as potters (whence their name). Each village is an (628) exogamous clan; when possible, alliances are arranged between the two. As one village contains four times as many families as the other the larger village has to look elsewhere for most of its (177) spouses, however. They no longer intermarry with other Badagas but with the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumba:ras living in and near Mysore City who are believed by the Nilgiri Kumba:ras to share a common ancestry with them. The Kumba:-ras living on the plateau nevertheless class themselves as Badagas and are so recognized by their neighbours as they bear a Badaga culture identical with that of the Gaudas. Among those Badagas who know the Kumba:ra villagers many consider them to be Gaudas, though only at Me:lu:ru have they been absorbed into the Gauda phratry.

(323) The traditional occupation of Kanarese Kumba:ras was pot-ting,[17] and although these Badagas no longer know the craft there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of two or three meters in the ramparts of the old Male Ko:ṭe fortification to testify to this former industry. On the basis of their presumed (if servile) connexion with royalty the Kumba:ras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; other Badagas knowing anything about them rank them below Gaudas and above Be:das and (262) Toreas. Some Kumba:ras are vegetarians; most are not. Their (264) rules for commensality are the same as those of Gaudas.

BE:DAS

615 Another small phratry neighbouring on the Kumba:ras, the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 Be:das, also number about fifty families divided between two clans. Their two villages near Male Ko:te each include members of both clans and thus are not exogamous (Metz, 1864, 47–48; Francis, 1908, 350, 370). Though they no longer marry with any other Badagas they, too, are undeniably Badagas. These people either marry into the other Be:da clan or arrange marriages with Kanarese Be:das (who are not Badagas) from Mysore City and Tiruppu:r (Coimbatore District).

The Be:das believe they came to the hills as hunters in service to the chieftain of Ummattu:r; the word *be:da* means 'hunter' (Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 331; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 382, no. 4547). Though now only farmers they supplemented their diet (262) until 1950 by hunting on the jungle slopes with bow and arrow. As they are eaters of meat and traditionally takers of life they are now ranked by other Badagas as lower than Kumba:ras but still above Toreas. It is worth noting that Kumba:ras and Be:das, like other non-Lingayat villagers, have their own 'commune Toreas' who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about Be:das that they erroneously think of them as a group totally absorbed into the Gauda phratry. There are in fact two Gauda villages descended from unions of Gaudas with Be:das. (264) The Be:das follow the same rules for commensality as Gaudas.

TOREAS

The Toreas were universally regarded as the lowest of Badaga phratries, but they had yielded that position to the Christians by 1900. In former times they were the poorest and least educated of Badagas (Harkness, 1832, 112). Though there are certain meat-eating Adikiris who have become absorbed into one Torea village (162) the phratry is now endogamous. It numbers about 5000 people and occupies twenty-six villages. No historical connection can be traced between them and the Kanarese Toreas.[18]

Like all other Badagas they are primarily cultivators, but in addition they hold a traditional role of messengers and 'commune servants', even in the Be:da villages, whence their low status. Certain Toreas are even now appointed (except in Lingayat villages) for specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. For this they receive a quarter-rupee and three measures of grain from each household. In some Torea

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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609 commensal rules, valid as much among Toreas as among higher phratries, have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from the more sacred room or from receiving food there. Badagas, even Toreas, do not recognize high ritual status when found outside the Nilgiri system. The plains Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by considering the Badagas as Śudras, through whom no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting their often non-vegetarian food.[21]

HA:SANU:RU BADAGAS

361 The eight villages of this community, lying in the low Biligiri
621 Rangan Hills some forty kilometers northeast of the Nilgiris,
belong to eleven clans which are distinct from those of the plateau.
614 These clans form three phratries—Wodea, Gauda and Torea. A
●615 clan of Ha:ruvas is within the Gauda phratry.

614 The two Wodea clans rank highest; they intermarry with each other, with Wodeas of the Nilgiris, and recently with the Wodea caste inhabiting villages near Sa:mara:jnagar (southern Mysore). Like other Wodeas those of Ha:sanu:ru are vegetarian and Lingayat. They allow the Ha:ruva clan to eat in the inner room of their houses, but for the past century since they began intermarriage with Mysore villages these Wodeas have stopped allowing other Badagas (who are non-vegetarian) to eat in their houses.

At the other end of the social hierarchy are two clans of Toreas, who intermarry chiefly with the two clans of Nilgiri Toreas, but also with neighbours of the opposite clan in Kottadai, their village near Ha:sanu:ru, and in some cases these Toreas have intermarried with the Torea caste found near Sa:mara:jnagar.

Between these two poles are four Ha:ruva families and about one hundred and fifteen Gauda families; (the Wodeas number about twenty five families, and Toreas twenty). The Ha:ruvas and Gaudas are divided into seven clans (see Diagram 7), generally identified by their place of origin in the Nilgiris. Members of each clan may intermarry with any of the other six clans, and also with Gaudas of the Nilgiris. However, because of their common origin, the Gaudas of Ku:kalu clan, for example, may not marry Gaudas from Ku:kalu village in the Nilgiris.

(615) There is a sort of hierarchy within this phratry, Ku:kalu clan and the Ha:ruvas ranking higher than the others. Ku:kalu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwṛḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32-38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. hepṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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11. Ward, 1821, lxxi, Hough, 1829, 88; Metz, 1864, 54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Francis, 1908, 131. The claim was based on their membership in the Brahma sept.
12. Kittel, 1894, 1650, gives the Kannada *Hāruva* as meaning 'Brahmin'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 273, n. 3366, translate it as 'Brahmin' or 'seer'.
13. Benbow, 1930, 9. This claim is dubious, since the pollution of meat normally cannot be removed from a woman, only from a man.
14. Metz, 1864, 50-51, 63-64; see above, 21, 41. *Adikari*, meaning 'powerful man', was once used as the title of a village headman or magistrate appointed by the local chieftain, acting for the ruling power in Mysore.
15. Since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the *liṅga* again.
16. Most Badagas now consider these Adikiris as Gauda, as they do Be:das and Kumba:ras.
17. An art they are said to have taught the Kotas.
18. Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 176; see above, 32-33. The Toreas of Ha:sanu:ru now intermarry with those of Mysore.
19. See below, 123. Belli Gowder, 1938-1941, 11, gives his gratuity at a funeral as 'a sum of Re. 1.25 along with ten measures of rice'.
20. Harkness, 1832, 109; Breeks, 1873, 14. It may be that these writers confused the Toreas with Kaikolans, however: twelve male and nine female Kaikolans were enumerated in Todana:du early in 1821; Grigg, 1880, 26. They were a low-status caste of weavers and musicians from Coimbatore, some of whose women were dedicated in a temple to the art of prostitution; Thurston, 1907, 29-30; 'Miles', 1951, 200-202.
21. Here a note about commensality with other non-Badagas. Wodeas and other Lingayats never allow a Nilgiri tribesman to enter beyond the veranda; neither may any non-Lingayat visitor from the plains enter. Ha:ruvas and all lower phratries permit Todas and until recently Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room. Kotas and any lowlander thought to be a Hindu untouchable are too polluting to be allowed past the veranda.

[p. 98 is blank]

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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threshold first; to plant the left foot before the right would bring the ceremony to a most inauspicious end.

Even though the ceremony has concluded, the men who have performed in it take various precautions to insure that they retain their state of purity for the remainder of the day. The meal that they eat is a vegetarian one; thus they avoid polluting themselves and their houses by having meat cooked on this occasion. To start the meal with butter is very auspicious, since eating butter is in Badaga thinking a sign of affluence and good luck. When the men have finished the meal they are careful to wash in cold water—the prescribed means of washing whenever Badagas wish to remain in a pure state. Afterwards they can clean and repair the cattle shed if they wish, for this is a meritorious act performed in a sacred place. Otherwise the only permitted activities are the cleaning of their clothes and of themselves.

Finally, we must consider the social relations which are given expression during the ceremony. The various sources of the community's welfare and of its power structure are reflected in the ceremony, albeit in symbolic reference. The family is represented usually by its male head, otherwise by a chosen male representative. The lineage is nowadays symbolized in the common pit used by all the cattle of each lineage. The entire hamlet community is represented in concerted action by the party of men who come from every household in the hamlet, as well as by the man from the Great House who is the living descendant of the founding ancestor.

One curious element is the habit of feeding each celebrant afterwards in the outer, less sanctified, room of his house. Men regularly eat in the inner room; the people who normally must eat in the outer room are the women and all visitors from lower-status phratries of the Badaga community. It would seem that the man who gives salt to his cattle is confident of his own ritual purity and that of his entire house on this occasion. By eating in the outer room he suggests that status differences between men and women, and between his phratry and others, are of no importance provided ritual purity prevails. This attitude is also reflected in other aspects of Badaga culture: people of higher and lower ranking clans intermarry, both hypergamously and hypogamously, and members of lower ranking phratries sometimes participate in the temple rituals of higher phratries without polluting the temples.

Women are excluded altogether from the salt-giving ceremony, if only because there is a risk that the presence of a ritually unclean woman might subvert the benefits looked for from God on this auspicious occasion. And yet the women do play a necessary "backstage" role in cleaning the house, decorating it, bringing in water, and cooking the meal. Segregation of women from the ceremony underlines a basic fact of hamlet organization: the hamlet is exogamous, and hence all wives in it are "outsiders," members initially of other hamlets. Furthermore, women inherit neither land nor cattle. Symbolically the ceremony concludes an annual pact between the men and God for the fruitful blessing of crops, cattle, and children, all of which in Badaga law belong to men alone. Even so, the oldest woman

In the course of the year almost every village celebrates a dozen or so festivals, the most important of which are concerned with the agricultural cycle: *doḍḍa habba*, the Great Festival, which marks the beginning of the agricultural year in November, and *de:va habba*, the God Festival, which celebrates the harvest in July. Another festival, called *Ma:ri habba*, intended to keep smallpox away, is celebrated in a few villages by fire-walking, when selected men walk unscathed across glowing embers. There are many other lesser ceremonies marking certain transitions in the lives of members of the community. For Badagas the major events of life are the naming of a child, its first haircut, the first milking of a cow, marriage, and death. On rare occasions some villages held a huge memorial ceremony in honour of a whole generation of the dead when its last member had passed away, but the ceremony was last performed in 1936. Yet many customs and celebrations of the Badagas are still observed today, in spite of dramatic changes which have affected other parts of their lives.

They are, for example, still led by a paramount chief whose position is hereditary and who always belongs to the village of Tu:ne:ri. (The latest chief was installed in 1977.) The political power devolves from this paramount chief to the headman of each village. In between them there are many local and regional headmen: several neighbouring villages make up a commune and, taking the name of the leading village, come under the authority of that village's headman. Above these there are also four regional chiefs who each control the villages and communes within their quarter of the Nilgiris.

Each headman has his own traditional council. A commune headman has the local village headmen in his council; a regional headman has the commune chiefs in his; and the paramount chief's council (which rarely meets) is composed of all the Badaga headmen. The judicial authority of all of these councils has been much diminished by the gradual imposition of Indian law and lawcourts. The traditional legal procedure for any dispute begins at the village level and then ascends through the various councils until finally an appeal may be considered by the paramount chief. In the past, headmen could impose severe punishments which ranged from ostracism to hanging, but today all criminal offences come under the authority of lawcourts, and village headmen and councils are left to deal only with minor disputes and ceremonial duties.

The Badagas are divided socially into a number of hierarchical

615 groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Wodeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Christian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous, and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

582 Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife. A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite acceptable in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

582 Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should, if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

619 An important feature of this community, from the point of view

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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3 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

539

"Lust is deceitful: I have lost my blanket through it."

(Proverb)

Fertility and Morality

121

3.1. It may justly be asked why a lengthy treatment of sexual behaviour is considered necessary to an account of Badaga medical conditions. Sex is a normal bodily function, and any diseases associated with this function are dealt with elsewhere in this book (6.61-6.62). Yet there are three reasons why the following emic account of sexual behaviour has been put together. One is that a similarly full account of peasant sexual activity seems to be lacking in the literature currently available on South Asia, and so I am able to fill a certain gap with this difficult and necessarily impressionistic essay. Secondly, the genetic effects of sexual practices are quite different from what Badaga marriage rules would suggest. Those rules represent the Badagas as an endogamous community, made up of a number of almost wholly endogamous phratries, and practising preferential cross-cousin marriage. This picture differs from what we may call the breeding pattern, which clearly allows for genetic intermingling between all of the Badaga phratries, and furthermore for Badaga males to contribute to the gene pool of Kotas, Todas and other neighbouring communities. Thirdly, these breeding patterns are obviously tied to the spread of certain venereal diseases. This is of great importance, since there appears to be a positive relationship between degree of religious orthodoxy, hierarchical status of a phratry, and fertility. To be more precise, the Wodeyas, the phratry highest in status, are orthodox, vegetarian, and Lingayat. My impression was that extra-marital sexual licence was less with this phratry than with certain lower-ranking ones, and much less than with the lowest group, the Toreyas. At the same time my censuses of several Badaga villages showed the following average numbers

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554
842
(837)
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163

[p.43]

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 163 of live children for samples of selected phratries in 1963 and 1972:

Table 3. Average Number of Living Children per Married Woman in Four Selected Badaga Villages (Listed Hierarchically)

	1963	1972
one Wodeya village (highest group)	3.63 (N=35)	3.55 (N=49)
one Adikiri Lingayat village	3.49 (N=43)	3.72 (N=58)
one Gauda village	3.14 (N=84)	3.60 (N=88)
one Toreya village (lowest group)	3.12 (N=17)	3.05 (N=20)

In Table 3, N stands for the number of married women in each selected village for whom the number of living children was ascertainable. In practice this included virtually all wives, including barren wives and second or third wives, but excluded a very few aged widows, in each village population.

(842) The selective factors underlying these statistical differences certainly include differential exposure to venereal diseases and consequent low fertility of some women, either through tubal occlusion or through the miscarriages and congenital abnormalities that syphilis causes. The names of the phratries are listed in hierarchical order, 615 Wodeyas being the most superior ritually and Toreyas the most 554 inferior. Very impressionistically, and only for purposes of the pre- 163 sent analysis, we might label the Wodeyas and Adikiris "upper class," the Gaudas "middle class," and the Toreyas "lower class." With such a categorization we might then expect that the upper class has a higher average of live children because it can afford better maternity and medical care, better food, and the more reliable scientific medical practitioners. Yet nothing could be further from the present case. It is the middle class who get all of these things most 615 readily. The upper class phratry of Wodeyas is in fact a poor, and 554 medically conservative, educationally backward group who are upper *only* in the sense of their vegetarianism, exclusivity, and religious orthodoxy (cf. 10.12). Many of their males perform priestly services for the other Badaga phratries as well as farming; many of their villages lie quite close to towns. The middle-class group are (548) farmers, but not priests, and they have the highest rate of contact

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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with non-Badaga prostitutes. The lower-class group, as we shall see below (3.7—c), has some extra-marital sexual contact with a wide range of other Badaga men, including of course some who have also had relations with diseased prostitutes. Since the four chosen villages are representative in their subcultures of these four phratries, are all accessible to therapists and midwives, are located within three miles of each other in the middle of the plateau, are all at the same elevation of about 6,500 feet, but in no instances were using contraceptives in 1963, it is difficult to avoid explaining the divergence between the average number of children in these families by any other means than this hypothesis: that *there is a positive correlation between socio-ritual status (or extent of religious orthodoxy) and the fertility of women.* I realize this may sound like moralizing; but it is the census data and not I myself that shows the "good," orthodox Badaga parents to have more live births than those who indulge more in inter-community, extra-marital relations.

The number of stillbirths and abortions is something I know nothing about. In one well-to-do Adikiri farming family which happened to include two skilled midwife-therapists, a woman married at the age of 12 conceived first at 18, and then had a total of five live births and another five miscarriages or neonate deaths. I have no reason to believe either that her husband (whom I know well) was diseased or that her birth history is really atypical.

Sex Education

3.2. A useful way of approaching the matter of Badaga sexual practice is to ask how the individual acquires his knowledge of the matter. The answer is that diverse sources are available, including conversation with others, observation of men and animals, and experimentation. We shall elaborate on each of these in turn.

Conversation on sexual matters occurs not only with members of one's own sex but also with lovers. Since in each case the party with whom one holds such conversation may be either an age-mate or some older person, there is a relatively free flow of information from one generation to another, and between the two sexes. Nonetheless some propriety is observed in seeking the information. Parents do not usually give any sex instruction to their children, nor do elder brothers generally give it to younger siblings or elder sisters to their younger sisters. The mother's brother, who is a kind of

discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be. What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 582 554 837 some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries. If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

615 554 836 837 601 It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas, the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas — call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

615 554 836 (*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the Toreyas.

548 837 (*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

548 837 199 A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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181 'Oh brother, who are these
539 Most wretched of them all?
831 In naked shame they're bound
To rugged gnarled trees.
548 They ever seem to talk,
But none are there to hear.'
'Oh sister, you surely have heard who these are:
Abandoned and profligate women, who wandered astray
From virtue and home. They have nothing wherewith
To cover their shame. They are hungry and cold.' (Gover 1871: 85).

In short, there was a touch of puritanism in Badaga oral literature that was apparently more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The Consummation of Marriage

128 3.8. The early part of this chapter has summarized some of the kinds of sexual activity and instruction that precede marriage. It is now time to analyze the sexual behaviour that accompanies a wedding. In doing so we shall not consider the symbolic aspects of the [582] ceremony nor its sociological features; save only to mention that hamlets are exogamous, and the preferred bride is the daughter of one's father's sister, or otherwise a mother's brother's daughter is [615] almost equally acceptable. In the Toreya phratry alone marriage [582] with a sister's daughter is permissible, though infrequent. An ethnographic account of Badaga marriage may be found in Thurston (1909: 103-09).

583 In the nineteenth century a form of trial marriage was engaged in. 584 A young man might then approach a girl's parents, and if they liked him they would invite him to their house, where he would be feasted and allowed to sleep with the girl. In the morning she would express her opinion of the youth to her parents, and her mother would then signal to him the family's decision, by giving him a meal of curried meat or similarly rich fare if he was acceptable, or otherwise just some boiled rice with a watery vegetable relish. "The same freedom, however, that on the following morning is allowed to the female, is also allowed to the youth; and should any change have taken place in his inclinations, he walks away without further ceremony" (Hark-

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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[615]

one bed, on which there lies a walking-stick for each dead adult, or a smaller stick for a child. In such a funeral the ritual acts and prayers are performed for each male first, and then for each female, in order of generation seniority and not of absolute age at death. If people of different phratries have died in the same hamlet then a separate bed is used for the sticks representing the members of each. Rituals are done for the superior phratry first, unless the dead members of that phratry were visitors from another hamlet. Finally, if some visitors have died there will be two separate beds for the funerals of agnates and affines within the same phratry.

164 RUBELLA (*kasare*)
[165]

7.4. *Kasare*, probably identifiable with measles, kills scarcely one in a hundred of those who do not follow the restrictions, whereas smallpox kills one in two of those who ignore the treatment procedure. Nonetheless measles should not be taken lightly: as one ironic proverb puts the matter, "Measles does not harm one; the eye is ungrateful [for what it sees]." All the rules for treating smallpox should be followed, except that an infected hamlet is not deserted. The water-sprinkling treatment, begun on the third day after the disease has been recognized by its widely scattered spots, has usually cured it by the seventh day. This is followed by the customary hot bath and inhalation of smoke (7. 2).

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[731]

164 PLAGUE (*ili sattara*)

7.5. Plague was not uncommon early in this century, and was known to be brought by rats (*Rattus rattus*). It is not much of a problem now however, as a medical missionary has observed:

> [Ketti] village has been harbouring the infection of plague for the last 18 months. But although there were as many as 138 rat falls reported in one week, we only know of four humans attacked. This clearly demonstrates the value of prompt preventative measures [by Government health authorities]. Owing to this incidence of plague fewer people have been coming into Ketti from

[744]

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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763 Although the Badagas do not write wills, a dying man may make
428 a benefactory statement, each wish in it being called a *sa:la*
795 ("debt"). It is believed that if these wishes are not followed the spirit of the dead man will trouble some of his relatives. It does not possess the wrongdoer as a ghost but puts a curse on him. Since Badagas do not believe in a further reimcarnation the spirit of the dead man will be able to go to heaven if he has done enough good deeds in this life. If his dying wishes are not followed, however, he will have to remain in limbo (*eḍe lo:ka*, "the middle place"). This dismal prospect should weigh heavily on his relatives.

763 In Badaga belief a person does not die when he gives out his last
764 breath, but rather when he takes in his last breath. This breath is believed to remain in his body for the next ten days, and enables the corpse to hear and be aware of everything that is going on around it, even though the dead person cannot open the eyes, speak, or move. Thus people commonly speak to a corpse during
764 the funeral. For most Badaga phratries this ceremony involves cre-
615 mation one or two days later, on ground several hundred meters outside the hamlet. Lingayats and children are instead buried at that place, and nowadays poor widows of various phratries may have to be buried because cremation has become quite costly (Noble and Noble 1965).

762 9.6. Suicide is by no means uncommon among the Badagas, particularly among young married women, and it is most usually accomplished by swallowing opium. Failing that, the juice from oleander

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

Table 4. Death per thousand of the entire Rural Population of the Nilgiri Plateau, 1921-1930

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	Cholera	Small-pox	Plague	Fever	Dysentery/ Diarhoea	Other Causes	Total 1,000 People
Rural Coonoor taluk (1921-25)	0.20	0.30	0.10	10.20	6.10	9.40	26.40
Ditto (1926-30)	0.01	0.08	0.05	11.47	5.81	10.90	28.32
Rural Ootacamund taluk (1921-25)	0.80	0.50	0.30	21.90	4.60	10.90	38.30
Ditto (1926-30)	0.03	0.14	0.24	16.50	4.96	11.30	33.17

231 Nearly every
592 family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be
178 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the
492 terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some
463 Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Śaivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study.

(101)

Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above
• 615 list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

•615 phratries, however — which they rank in various orders to create a kind of caste hierarchy. One widely accepted view ranks the various groups of Badagas in this descending order:

1) Wodeyas, an orthodox Lingayat phratry;

2) Haruvas, sometimes called Badaga Brahmins;

3) Lingayats (exclusive of Wodeya Lingayats);

4) Kaggusis, a small vegetarian group;

5) Gaudas, more commonly called "Badagas" because they make up the vast majority of the entire Badaga community;

6) Kumbaras;

7) Bedas;

8) Toreyas.

184 (615) 433 361 Visible cultural differences between the various groups of Badagas are very slight. All Badagas are basically agriculturists who also keep a few cattle; all live in villages made up of rows of houses running in parallel lines across the sheltered slopes of a hill (Thurston 1909: I, 75; Ranga 1934: 1, 5; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 246); all are subject to the same indigenous politico-legal system; all maintain the same kind of interdependence with the other Nilgiri tribes. Although the endogamy of some of these groups might tempt us to call them jatis, and although some kind of a caste hierarchy is discernible, they are unlike the multi-caste villages of the plains in that there is no economic specialization to distinguish each group, there are no "caste" councils, and it is very exceptional for members of more than one of these groups to inhabit the same hamlet.

631 colonization of this rather inaccessible area. The recency of its settlement,
[166] when compared with other parts of the Nilgiris, is suggested by the fact that the name of the division lying directly to the east of it is Merkunad -- which means "Western District". It is also common when people are talking about the plateau divisions to use the set phrase, "all the four districts, including Kunda", as though it were somehow exceptional to consider Kunda a district at all.

The fifth division, Malnad, though inhabited by a very few Badagas (or Wynaad Gaudas), Kotas, and -- until 40 years ago -- Todas, is generally thought of by these three tribes as an alien land; and it was certainly not integrated into the indigenous political system in the way that the other four divisions were.

[658] This subdivision of the Nilgiris was taken over by the British for administrative purposes, and continued in use until the early years of the present century, when it was superceded by a redivision of the District into three taluks. The rural inhabitants have however continued to think primarily in terms of their indigenous divisions in matters which involve the Nilgiri-wide social system and its juridical processes.

632 Each of these areas is divided into a number of "villages", usually bet-
[631] ween ten and twenty of them. Each "village" in turn consists of a varying number
[621] of neighboring hamlets belonging normally to any one of the six phratries. One hamlet, not necessarily the largest nor even of the highest-ranked phratry, takes permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire "village".

[162] Thus Ketti, for example, is an average-sized "village" in Merkunad with a Badaga population of about 5000. It consists of 17 hamlets, the chief one
621 being Ketti, largely a Gauda hamlet. On one side of this hamlet there are eleven
●615 Toreya houses, and on the other side, separated from the Badagas slightly, are

621 the houses of numerous recent settlers from the plains, most of them agricultural
• 615 laborers. Nine other hamlets in Ketti "village" are exclusively Gauda; two are Wodeya; one is Haruva; three contain both Adikaris and Gaudas; and one, built in the last century, contains Protestant and Catholic Christians, not only Badagas but also Tamilian, Mysorean and Malayali Christians and even a few Toda ones.

Toda settlements are not included in such a village network. Many reasons
648 for this can be advanced: this is a system controlled mainly by Badagas, whereas
000 few Todas live close to any Badaga settlements. Apart from that, the Todas have their own juridical system; they migrate back and forth across the plateau with their buffaloes; and in general Toda social organization is so different from that of Kotas and Badagas that it would have very little "fit" with a politico-juridical system that links Kota and Badaga farming communities. (I am told by Dr. Emeneau, however, that the Todas refer to juridical links between specific Toda clans and specific Badaga villages, when they tell of how they may call upon a Badaga headman to help adjudicate a Toda quarrel.) By contrast with the Toda settlements,
632 Kota ones are constituent hamlets of otherwise Badaga "villages" in most places;
648 but in one case a Kota hamlet (Kol-mel) is the chief one, while the other five hamlets making up its "village" belong to various high-ranking Badaga sibs. This particular situation, explained by the Badagas as a "historical accident", is remarkable because it gives the Kotas a political advantage over several Badaga hamlets although all Badagas in that "village" still consider the Kotas there as socially lower.

At each level in this political organization there is a headman. Nearly
621 (622) every hamlet has one, although small hamlets sometimes remain without an incumbent for many years. Their councils meet, nevertheless, when a problem

632 When a festival has to be organized that only concerns perhaps one of the phratries
(615) resident in a "village", the relevant hamlets call together their own multi-hamlet committee to handle the matter without calling upon the "village" headman to organize the celebration. It is only for festivals that concern nearly all of the hamlets that he will take charge of the organization. No festivals are celebrated
619 796 jointly by a division, or by the whole Nilgiri population, largely because the distances to be traveled are too great and the number of participants would be unmanageably large. Funerals are always treated as public ceremonies, and weddings quite
796 often are. Other life-cycle ceremonies can be treated as public ones, but very
(621) rarely are. In any case, when a life-cycle ceremony is treated as a public celebration, it is only celebrated in the hamlet of the people most closely concerned. Personal ceremonies are not celebrated at the "village" or any higher level. (This does not of course preclude inviting visitors from other "villagers" or divisions.)

623 (622) The headman does not make the arrangements for these various celebrations of his own accord. His hamlet generally has a council for settling disputes, and also a festival committee consisting of the priests and a few elderly men. The latter not only organize festivals, but occasionally may plan to build a new temple or propitiate an uncooperative deity. (Arrangements for life-cycle ceremonies, unlike public festivals, are mainly in the hands of the family concerned.) The elders on the hamlet council are generally different individuals than those on the
(428) festival committee; this is a convenient division of the labor involved. But in either
(562) case the positions are quite often hereditary, and are never held by women. The
(888) elders are typically the older males of all lineages represented in a hamlet; it is they who are in the best position to enforce council decisions among all of their

DIAGRAM III: THE BADAGA SIBS

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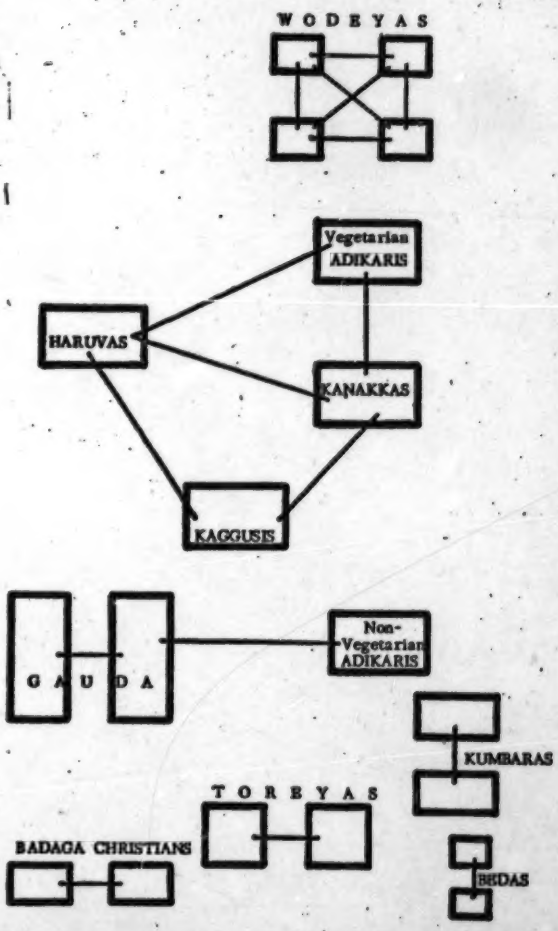

128 will discuss the general principles by which Badagas regulate marriage.

The Regulation of Marriage

•615 (614) The sibs are grouped into six phratries: in most cases the phratries bear names but the sibs do not. The Badagas, who have an extensive oral history embodied in their folksongs, can still recall the origins of these phratries as historically distinct settlements of various small immigrant groups. The founders of the various phratries had different places of origin in the Mysore Plains, or took different routes up into the Nilgiris, or came at different periods. The first villages that were founded by each ancestral group are still inhabited by that phratry today. The phratries are ranked into a hierarchy about which there is considerable disagreement. Each phratry is to a large extent endogamous, in one case entirely so; and all but two consist of two sibs each. As can be seen from the diagram, the exceptions to this statement are two groups with four sibs in each case: first, the Wodeyas; and secondly, the Haruvas, Kaggusis and two Lingayat sibs, who together form an unnamed phratry. The Toreyas are the only phratry that is now completely endogamous.

Most Badagas, of whatever sib or phratry, agree that the two Toreya sibs are lowest and that the four Wodeya sibs have the highest rank in the entire community. Although the great majority of Badagas are not Lingayats, they cite the purity of a Wodeya's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his Lingayat observances as the factors which support his high rank; many also consider that the priority of his ancestors' arrival in the Nilgiris places him above the other two Lingayat sibs. The only people who typically accord the Haruvas a rank higher than the Wodeyas are the minority who are supporters of a pro-Haruva faction to be discussed later.

•615 Nobody, on the other hand, disputes with the Toreyas for the lowest position in the hierarchy of Hindu Badagas; not even the Kotas have attempted this — and they are lower still.

121 It is a characteristic of jati hierarchies in almost every part of India that there are differences of opinion about the exact ranking of any particular jati. A cursory view of the welter of data available for different regions of India also strongly suggests that there is perhaps more widespread agreement in any community about the rank of the jatis that are highest or lowest in a local hierarchy than about the exact position of all or some of those in intermediate positions. It is a statement that is also true in broad outline for the Badagas; but it does not really explain anything. The similarity of the grosser features of the Badaga hierarchy — such as it is — to hierarchies found in most Hindu villages in no way helps clarify the complexity of what among Badagas corresponds to the "middle jatis" in those Hindu (614) villages. For the sibs inferior to Wodeyas and superior to Toreyas can in general intermarry either hypergamously or hypogamously: that is, sib ranking is formally irrelevant in the arrangement of marriages.

614 Two kinds of explanation can be offered for this feature. The less likely one is a historical explanation, for which there is some slight evidence. It is that the Badagas only thought of ranking their sibs into an all-Badaga hierarchy during the last century, after there had been some contact with laborers and Brahmins from villages in the plains. Such an argument would imply that the indigenous marriage system has been retained, but that a new ranking system for the various endogamous units was superimposed as one aspect of a process generally called 175 Sanskritization (cf. Srinivas 1962). The earliest detailed accounts of the Badagas 614 make it clear, however, that even in the early part of the 19th Century there was

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These
accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
●615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Braluminy
thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim
to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In
1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas]; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 562 gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is consi-
(554) derable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely
(561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are re-
garded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village
rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and
preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she be-
comes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of
roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his
own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving
his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other
entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is
a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has
both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant
relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter"
in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have
described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

• 615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the
Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have
a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
614 purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs per-
haps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
(621) hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where
families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the cen-
tral importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organiza-
tion, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
128 each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

128 Badagas rank them in the social hierarchy.

The diagram overleaf (p. 53) is an elaboration of one given above (p. 46). Here again each rectangle represents one sib, and thin lines link the sibs which traditionally intermarry. The broken lines indicate abnormal marriages that occur only at rare intervals. The heavier lines mark the main subcultural divisions within the community, between vegetarians and meat-eaters, and between Lingayats and the other Saivites.

•615 (162) The majority of Badagas rank the Wodeyas as the highest phratry in the community (Francis 1908: 130-31). They occupy about a dozen hamlets scattered across the Nilgiris, some of them very close to the hamlets of other phratries; perhaps they number 3000 people. The Wodeyas, unlike the lower-ranking phratries, are divided into four named, exogamous sibs, several of which will be represented in the population of each of their hamlets. In some ways, therefore, the organization of the Wodeya phratry is like that of the next phratry, the Adikari-Kanakka-Haruva-Kaggusi grouping; for this too is made up of four named, exogamous sibs. The difference is that members of the various sibs in this second phratry do not typically inhabit the same hamlet, and may not intermarry with any one of the other three sibs.

562 564 615 Wodeya marriages are nearly always arranged between members of any two of the four sibs; with the proviso that a man should not marry into a family in which his mother's sister, mother's brother, father's sister or father's brother have married. But since the beginning of this century some marriages have been contracted with Wodeya Lingayat girls from the Mysore Plains, who are not Badagas at all. In a few cases Wodeyas have even been known to marry Kanakka girls.

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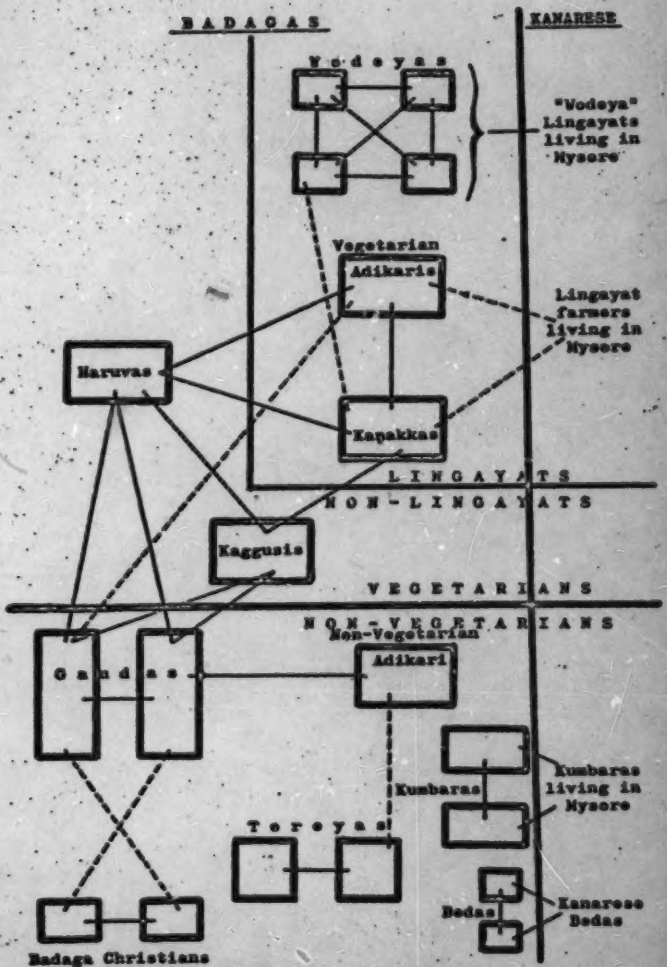

DIAGRAM IV: THE BADAGA SIBS

•615. The Wodeyas claim to be descendants of the family of that name who were the ruling house of Mysore in the period 1399-1761, and later under the British surveilliance became maharajahs of the princely state of Mysore (Grigg 1880: 220; Francis 1908: 130-31; Thurston 1909: I, 72-73). That the Wodeyas may have really been religious functionaries before they came to the Nilgiris -- and not the royalty they now claim to be -- is strongly suggested by Hayavadana Rao's derivation of the word:

> Wodeyar: Kan. plural and honorific form of Odeya, lit. lord, master; spelt variously as Odeyar, Wodeyar, Wadeyar and Wadeyaraiya, in inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagar and Mysore periods. In Tamil, the word occurs as Udaiyar, as in Chola inscriptions among others. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vira-Saivism was the predominant creed in the Southern Karnatak. This is evidenced by the fact that the word Wodeyar not infrequently appears in the literature of the period in a modified form as Vadēr or Wadēr, a term of respect by which Jangama priests were, and are even now, addressed. (Hayavadana Rao 1941: 517)

Burrow & Emeneau translate the word as "owner, lord, master, ruler" (1961: 45). Until a decade ago the Wodeyas in the Nilgiris had always acted as priests for the other Badaga Lingayats. Wodeyas cite not only their supposed royal origin, but also the much longer time that they have lived in the Nilgiris, as reasons for there being no intermarriage between them and the other two Lingayat sibs among the Badagas (Benbow 1928: 5, 7). They are a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat minority, and apparently they had established their position as a self-perpetuating

582 615 phratry in the Nilgiris before the arrival of the other Lingayats. It is worth recording that there have been a few irregular cases of marriage between Wodeya girls and men of the other two Lingayat sibs. These are in no sense normal or even acceptable, but they do constitute cases of what is, for India, the rare phenomenon of hypogamy. The alternative of hypergamy in this situation is known only from a single instance.

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615 Wodeyas will not accept food from the Haruvas or any socially lower phratry, although they will eat in any other Wodeya house (Grigg 1880: 220). Other Badaga phratries accept food — which is always vegetarian — in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Members of any of the other Nilgiri tribes will accept vegetarian food from the Wodeyas too; but they are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the home.

615 The Haruvas are a small sib living in only four hamlets. Like the Wode-
[162] yas, they probably number about 3000 people. This does not mean that Haruva hamlets are unusually large, for it is very common for a single Haruva family to live permanently in a Gauda hamlet: perhaps two thousand of the Haruvas are so
(793) distributed. This is because Haruvas customarily act as priests in the Gauda
(614) temples (Benbow 1928: 7-9). Haruvas, Kapakkas, Adikaris and Kaggusis are the four exogamous sibs which make up their phratry — the only unnamed one, incidentally. But of the four sibs just mentioned, Haruvas alone have challenged the Wodeyas for prime position in the Badaga social hierarchy. The ramifications of their claim will receive further attention when we discuss Badaga factions.

614 The Haruvas are Śaivites, but not Lingayats. For over a century at least they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before they ever left Mysore for the Nilgiris, and that they should therefore now be treated as such (Francis 1908: 131). Little of their behavior accords with the orthodoxy of true
(793) Brahmins in the villages of the plains, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the indubitable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across one shoulder, and they do very frequently act as temple priests to the great majority of Śaivite Badagas.

• 615 there is a large caste of Kanarese cultivators and cattle-breeders who are known by this name. On their political organization, Thurston quotes from the official Manual of the South Canara District:

> Gaudas...are very numerously represented in the South Canara district. They have a somewhat elaborate system of caste government. In every village there are two headmen...For every group of eight or nine villages there is another head called the Māganē Gauda, and for every nine Māganēs there is a yet higher authority... The caste is divided into eighteen baris or balis [sibs] , which are of the usual exogamous character. (Thurston 1909: II, 269)

The Kanarese Gaudas and the Badaga Gaudas have for many centuries lived in very different environments, so that it is not surprising to find how different their present cultures are. Nevertheless, historical connection seems an easier explanation than mere coincidence for the similarity between the broad outlines of the political organization in the two Gauda communities.

The Badaga Gaudas today live in about 350 hamlets. Unlike members of the small Badaga phratries, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every Gauda hamlet, and so no Gauda can be too certain about whether any particular distant hamlet belongs to his own or the other of the two unnamed sibs. This raises an important question when a marriage happens to be arranged with a hamlet into which the groom's family or hamlet has not previously married. It is by no means certain, in my opinion, that all Gauda hamlets are really distributed between only two sibs; but in every part of the Nilgiris the Gaudas believe this to be true, and can assign every hamlet with which they have kinship connections to one sib or the other.

The unwieldy size of the two Gauda sibs thus has created a structural problem which finds two different kinds of solution. The first of these brings the dyadional boundaries into play, and this is the only situation in which the larger

615 political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that sib exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two hamlets within the same division. If a marriage is arranged with a hamlet in any of the other three divisions, and there is no known precedent of a marriage with that hamlet, then it is usually treated as being a member of the opposite sib, even though it would be possible to argue that it belongs to the same sib, were the villagers to trace out a network of various other marriage connections that indirectly linked the two hamlets. In one's own division, if two hamlets A and B have both had marriages with hamlet C, then A and B necessarily belong to the same sib. But if hamlets A and B are located in different political divisions, then the fact that at some time they have both married people from hamlet C (which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the Nilgiris) is deemed irrelevant. In fact, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the knowledge by saying: "After all, the connection is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood." In effect, they are giving up the ideal of sib exogamy in such a situation for the more meaningful ideal of lineage exogamy, because the sibs have become so large that they can no longer be regarded by Badagas as corporate social groups. This adjustment in thinking is very necessary, because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field -- which often contains 300 or more people -- coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages, could otherwise make the ideal of sib exogamy an altogether insurmountable problem.

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There is a second way of manipulating the problem. Various peripheral Gauda hamlets are in a sense of "neutral" sib affiliation, it seems: that is, they

614 are each exogamous, but may arrange marriages with members of either sib with-
• 615 out being accused of marriage within a prohibited degree, simply because they are too small and isolated for many other hamlets to know anything about them. They thus constitute a kind of "structural safety-valve", for the precedent of a marriage with one of these hamlets can be used to validate an argument about any other hamlet's membership of either sib. This is possible because both Gauda sibs are unnamed, and are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning "brothers" (i.e. "our sib") and "in-laws" (i.e. "their sib"). These various peripheral hamlets also act as a kind of reservoir of boys and girls eligible for marriage with any hamlet in need of spouses.

582 615 While it is true that the vast majority of Gauda marriages are with members of the opposite sib, there have also been a number of permissible marriages arranged with members of other phratries. Both Haruvas and Kaggusis marry into either Gauda sib. A few Bedas may also have married into either Gauda sib. In three hamlets non-vegetarian Adikaris have intermarried with Gaudas, and are now treated as Gaudas. A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga (581) Christian girls to Gauda boys, normally those with a college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their "freer" interaction with men. Where a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to the opposite sib from her groom's.

574 615 Gaudas are willing to eat in the houses of any other Badaga phratry, except for Toreyas and Badaga Christians. Adikaris, Kanakkas and Wodeyas only offer Gaudas food in the outer room; whereas Haruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. In each of these cases the Gaudas may be meat-eaters, but

574 •615 they will only be offered vegetarian food in the inner room. Usually it is only between two families related through a marriage that this latter situation might arise. Generally the vegetarians do not eat in non-vegetarian homes. Toreyas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda house, but meat-eating Adikaris will eat in the inner room.

162 615 Few Badagas know of the existence of a Badaga phratry called Kumbara, so small are its numbers. The Kumbaras live in two nearby hamlets on the northern edge of the Nilgiris (Metz 1864: 60), and total only 50 households -- about 300 people. The two hamlets are two exogamous sibs, and where possible intermarry. 614 615 One of these hamlets, however, contains only ten families; so that the other hamlet (582) has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses. They do not intermarry with any other Badagas, but do arrange marriages with any of the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumbaras who live in and around Mysore City. Although these latter 615 are not Badagas the Kumbaras of the Nilgiris believe that the two groups have common ancestry. Those living in the Nilgiris nevertheless class themselves as Badagas, are recognized as such by their neighbors, and carry a distinctively Badaga culture almost identical with that of the Gaudas. Many Badagas who know of their existence believe that the Kumbaras actually are Gaudas.

172 615 Within a half-mile of one of the hamlets is a deserted fortification, said to have been constructed several centuries ago by the Raja of Ummattur, a town of southern Mysore (Francis 1908: 350). Badaga folksongs indicate that the Kumbaras came into the hills in this Raja's retinue. The traditional occupation of their caste is ceramics, and although they no longer know how to make pots there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of 2-3 meters in the ramparts of the old 186 615 fortification to testify to their former industry on this spot. On the basis of this

615 presumed connection with royalty the Kumbaras claim to be the highest of all Badaga
186 phratries; but all other Badagas (who know of them) rank them above Toreyas and below Gaudas. Some Kumbaras are vegetarian, but most are not.

615 The Bedas are another Badaga phratry living in the same locality as the
(162) Kumbaras, and also numbering about 50 families divided between two exogamous sibs. They inhabit only two hamlets, both near the old fortification of the Raja of Ummatur, and members of both sibs live in each hamlet (Metz 1864: 47-48; Francis 1908: 350, 370). The Bedas do not marry any other Badagas although, like the Kum-
(582) baras, they undeniably are considered Badagas: either they marry into the other
(614) Beda sib, or they arrange marriages with Kanarese Bedas -- who are not Badagas -- living in Mysore City or in Tiruppattur town (Salem District).

The Bedas believe that they came to the Nilgiris as hunters in the service of the afore-mentioned Raja of Ummatur: the word bēda means "hunter" (Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 382). Today they are only farmers; but until about 1950 they still supplemented their diet by hunting on the jungle slopes with the bow and arrow. They are normally meat-eaters, and -- partly because they are traditionally takers of life -- are ranked by the other Badagas as lower than Kumbaras but above Toreyas. It is interesting to note that both the Bedas and the Kumbaras, like all other non-Lingayat phratries, have their own "village Toreyas" who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about the Bedas that they regard them as a community now absorbed into the Gaudas, which is in fact not the case at all.

The Toreyas are universally regarded as the lowest of the Badaga phratries; and although there are some meat-eating Adikaris who have been absorbed into their

•615 number by intermarriage in one hamlet, they are now the only totally endogamous Badaga phratry. Their name suggests that they originated in an eponymous Kanarese community: "The Toreyas are a Canarese class, living chiefly in the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Salem. They are said to have been originally fishermen and palanquin bearers, and the name is derived from turai, a river ghāt. Most of them are now cultivators..." (Thurston 1909: VII, 176) The Badaga Toreyas are, like all other phratries, primarily cultivators. They do in addition hold a traditional role of messengers and "village servants" — even in Beda hamlets — whence their low status (Thurston 1909: I, 73-74). It seems likely that they used to be palanquin-bearers on the tortuous Nilgiri slopes until about 1830, when the roads were becoming suitable for cart traffic. Certain Toreyas are still appointed to run errands for the headmen, and to perform specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. It is recorded that in the early part of the 19th Century they were also "weaving a kind of sackcloth" (Harkness 1832: 109); but today neither the Toreyas nor anyone else can recall anything of this craft.

615 692 The Toreyas are under a disadvantage at the hands of the Badaga judicial system; for in any hamlet or "village" where the Toreyas do not live apart from all other phratries they find that, while they are permitted to bring cases to the council and to sit at the meeting, they must not take part in the discussion which leads up to the headman's decision.

162 614 65 There are 26 Toreya hamlets in the entire Nilgiris, most of them being adjuncts to Gauda hamlets. A census of the Toreya settlements reveals an extraordinary disproportion in the sizes of the two exogamous sibs. 5½ hamlets are inhabited by one sib, and 20½ by the other. In approximate figures this means that 125 households belong to one sib, while 750 belong to the other. This situation is necessarily a temporary one, and can have persisted for only two or three

614 615

614 generations, although the Toreyas themselves are hazy about its causes. Provided
• 615 the two sibs really are exogamous and each only marries with the other, their num-
(160) bers should become roughly equal by the end of this century. Apparently one of the frequent epidemics which plague this area ravaged one of the sibs early in the present century while leaving the hamlets of the other relatively unscathed. The latter sib now includes large numbers of unmarried men and women.

How are the Toreyas handling this challenge? Strangely enough, in view of
615 the well-known precedents set them by other Badaga phratries, the Toreyas have not resorted to the expedient of marrying outside their phratry, either to other Badagas or to Kanarese peasants. The only explanation for this behavior seems to be that they are poorer and less well educated than any other Badaga phratry, and they feel that marriage beyond the bounds of their own phratry would -- far from relieving their tensions -- threaten their very identity as a group.

The main solution they have attempted, and with considerable success,
595 615 is polygyny. This is a permissible form of marriage among all Badagas, although it is rarely practiced today. Those Toreya men of the smaller sib who can afford it nevertheless quite often take a second wife. Polyandry, on the other hand, is no longer a permissible form of Badaga marriage; although it was apparently common
595 until the end of the last century (Natesa Sastri 1892: 754). Even so, I believe that
614 615 cases of de facto fraternal polyandry occur among men of the larger Toreya sib and contribute to a solution of the present problem. It can also be assumed that many of the unmarried women of the larger sib still succeed in becoming mothers. A Toreya girl is quite commonly the object of a Gauda boy's attentions; but although children may result from such a casual union, marriage never does.

574 615 Toreyas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all other phratries

574 and meat in those which habitually eat meat themselves. However, none of the
●615 other groups allows them into the inner, more sacred room; they are expected to eat in the outer one. "If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreas must clear away all remnants of the feast--nobody else will help" (Benbow 1928: 11). No other phratry will accept food in the house of a Toreya (Thurston 1911: 117).

In terms of the commensality rules which pertain in other parts of India, the Toreyas may therefore have the appearance of an untouchable group; and it is certainly true that they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. There is a Badaga
574 rule, nevertheless, that all "foreigners" and plainsmen are not to enter the inner
609 room of any Badaga's house. They can be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. The Badaga commensal rules -- which hold true among the Toreyas as much as among the higher phratries -- have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from entering the more sacred room of a Badaga house or from being offered food there. Badagas do not recognize high ritual status when it is found among people outside the Nilgiri system. The Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by saying that the Badagas are really Sudras, and therefore no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting food from them.

Here a word about commensality with other non-Badagas might be in order. Wodeyas and Lingayats never allow any Nilgiri tribesman to enter their houses beyond the veranda; indeed, they will not permit any non-Lingayat visitor from the
(615) plains to enter. Haruvas and all lower phratries, on the other hand, permit Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer room. Kotas, and nowadays any lowlander thought to be an untouchable, are too polluting to allow past the veranda entrance, however.

565 family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century
556 situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya
(615) will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have
582 seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from
614 other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the divi-
615 sion between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Gauda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about
567 the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a
565 man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the
(764) gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a widow of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his brother does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dea
(584) woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his
(581) wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

121 We shall now consider the lower end of the "social ladder", the poorest Badaga families, so as to see how their lack of either affluence or influence affects their position in Nilgiri society.

There is very widespread agreement across India and Pakistan that certain occupations, and the jatis centered on them, are of low respectability. Among the commonest of such occupations are washerman, scavenger, barber, blacksmith, leather-worker, and basket-maker. In the Badaga economy, however, none of these occurs as a regular kind of employment. The lowest phratry are the Toreyas, and (615) their inferiority relative to the other phratries is explained by the fact that they act as messengers and "village servants" to the others. The duties of blacksmith, leather-worker and basket-maker, as we have already seen, are roles for members of some other tribes with which the Badagas interact; and thus these needs of the Badagas can adequately be met by local non-Badagas. How do Badagas handle the supposedly demeaning tasks of the washerman, the scavenger and the barber?

462 Women wash the family clothes, and it is not a shame for even a boy to wash clothes -- although adult men will not do it (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ranga 1934: 71). It is only the poorest of Badaga families who might supplement their 463 income -- and particularly if they own no land at all -- by washing the clothes of 554 others, however. Even in their case, this does not become a full-time occupation. In the same way only the poorest of Badaga men would act as barbers to richer men. For both these services payment used to be made in grain. One would never see two men shaving each other on a reciprocal basis, except among the very poorest who had made this a subsidiary occupation (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The most demeaning of all services that a poor man might find himself obliged to perform is that of shaving the pubic hair from richer men. It is common to remove (515)

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

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> ... Though by the help of the native magistrate a way has been opened for the Christians by which they can get away from their houses now, they are still in trouble, especially about the water supply. The old mother of Titus, when fetching water one day, was thrown to the ground and illtreated by L's [Lakshma's] wife, and the children of the Christians were shot at, the ball however glanced from a rock and fell harmless in their midst. Only recently Lakshma sent a message to the Christians, threatening that within two months he would force them to leave their house and property. (Anonymous 1894: 550-51)

Behavior of this pattern characterizes the occasional outbursts of factional feeling in quite recent years, and is not restricted to disputes between Hindus and Christians.

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The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged during the last decades of the 19th Century and, like the conversions, is still the basis for a factional cleavage today. It concerned the claim of the Haruvas that they are superior in status to the Wodeyas and all other Badaga phratries. The Haruvas and those who support them -- preëminently the Gauda villages of Kunda division -- believe that the Haruvas were of the Brahmin varna before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of this belief they cite the facts that they have always functioned as priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they are strictly vegetarians themselves, and they wear a thread across the shoulder. Opponents of the Haruva claim include the majority of all Badagas. They perhaps recognize that the Haruvas have no knowledge of Sanskrit or any other sacred literature -- since until this century they were all illiterate; furthermore, there is no ceremony for investiture of the "sacred" thread and no concept of being "twice-born". But the argument most generally used against the Haruvas' claim is that they are only priests in the Badaga temples because the various non-vegetarian phratries (preponderantly the Gaudas, of course) appointed them to act in this role; just as they appointed certain Toreyas, certain Kurumbas and certain Todas to act in special roles for the benefit of the entire village.

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Although it is the Wodeyas whom the Haruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Haruvas and Wodeyas. This is not too surprising, since Wodeyas are Lingayats, while Haruvas are not; Wodeyas do not employ Haruva priests; Wodeyas do not intermarry with Haruvas at all; and so Wodeya/Haruva interaction has always been minimal. The main clash in this dispute has been between Haruvas and most Gaudas, who resent the Haruva claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Haruvas; the other Gauda hamlets, together with most Toreya, Kapakka, Adikari and Kaggusi hamlets, have not only denounced the Haruva claim but have long ago broken off their traditional relations with the Haruvas. The Haruva priests have been supplanted by non-Haruva members of the hamlet; marriages with Haruva men and women have ceased, and already married couples were sometimes divorced by the hamlet headmen; interdining with Haruvas was stopped; and occasionally fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the traditional Haruva priests tried to perform their ritual functions and members of the anti-Haruva faction tried to stop them.

The Haruva dispute has never been "solved". In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants, and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrangement of marriages. This also seems to be the case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas.

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In Chapter VII we shall return to the topic of factionalism, for it has been a pervasive element in the socio-cultural changes of the 20th Century.

place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapalkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

The New Factions

578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

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178 have also disappeared (Emeneau 1938: 104-05). The Badagas are attempting to in-
648 crease the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbors (Mandelbaum 1960: 302-03).

Another factional dispute, which lasted for nearly a quarter century prior to
665 Independence, was a political one: political behavior in that period took the form of a factional division. Although many hamlets were not concerned with political questions at all, the more informed ones -- with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions -- tended to align themselves either with the Indian National Congress and the independence movement, or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British admi-
(578) nistration of India. At the most violent phase of this faction's history, from Gandhi's salt satyagraha in 1930 to the outbreak of war in 1939, most of the Badaga hamlets were involved in the dispute, and the two factions would not eat or speak together, would sometimes have separate hamlet headmen and celebrate festivals separately, would forbid intermarriage across the cleavage, and would give vent to occasional outbreaks of violent fighting.

We have already seen how the dispute over the use of Kota music reinforced
578 an existing factional division over the status of Haruvas. The political dispute we
• 615 have just described was in practice yet another facet of the dispute over Haruva
665 superiority: the people who supported the Haruva claim were the same people who supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is not difficult to see: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended strongly on the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress, and on the comparative ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting government employment (to the envy of most non-Brahmins). The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins, and looked upon Brahmins as incursors from North

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
•615 of the Justice Party.
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Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another factional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas
177 at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in
582 this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese
(518) Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat
(581) Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of
(771) Virašaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the
578 idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy
798 countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries
(582) may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

177 178 The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) -- the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism -- in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tamil) and Kriśna is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

178 578 • 615 (618) Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who supported the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

665 578 The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separated Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social

578 It is difficult to say whether Badaga factionalism has actually increased during the period of increased cultural change that we have been examining. Records from the early 19th Century are too scanty to make any mention of whether disputes occurred at that time. To judge from what we do know about the history of the Badagas, however, it seems true to say that while only two factional divisions occurred during the 19th Century, dozens have developed during the present century. The most widespread of all disputes is the one between conservatives favoring the continued use of Kota music and services and supporting Haruva superiority, and "progressives" who want Badaga life to resemble more closely that of the Tamilian (121) castes, but who will not permit Haruvas to assume the status of Brahmins. The common tussle between conservatives and progressives in many acculturation situations is thus embodied in this particular dispute.

The dispute, nevertheless, is not over a simple choice between the past and the future. Each party in it sees the central issues in widely differing ways. For Haruvas the dispute is essentially over establishing their presumed Brahminic status; for Gaudas it is generally seen as being concerned with whether the Badagas should become more like Tamilian castes; for Kotas it is most often seen as a question of the Kotas getting what was their previously unquestioned right (Mandelbaum 1955: 235, 238; Mandelbaum 1960: 274-75).

121 These variant views prompt us to take a wider approach to the whole question of Badaga factionalism. The disputes which have concerned large numbers of villages can be thought of as raising questions about which models of Indian society the Badagas should follow as they take their place in the national economy and the •615 national society. The Haruvas have long adopted the Brahminic model: they act as priests, they wear a thread, and maintain a vegetarian diet; they have an origin

615 myth which equates them with Kanarese Brahmins in the Badaga home-land to the north. But the Haruvas are not accepted as Brahmins by any other Brahmin whom they now meet; they have no ceremony for investiture of the thread; no śraddha is performed for their dead; they do not know Sanskrit, and until quite recently were all
518 illiterate. Their adoption of the Brahminic model has not gone unopposed. The great
615 majority of Badagas are meat-eating Gaudas, whose on-going tradition is itself a guiding model for their behavior. Gaudas have never claimed to be Brahmins, and they disapprove of the "snobbish" attitude of the Haruvas who press this claim. Haruvas are thus caught, as it were, between two different models, the Brahminic one and the dominant Gauda one. And the Haruvas are outnumbered heavily by what is, amongst the Badagas, a large phratry that occupies the position of a "dominant caste" in several ways. Haruvas occupy a position not unlike that of Toreyas, from the point of view of the Gaudas. Both are said to be "employed" by the Gaudas as village-servants; both usually live as minorities in hamlets that are preponderantly Gauda; and both were traditionally dependent upon the good-will of their Gauda neighbors. In such hamlets Gaudas own most of the land and houses, control the festivals and the dispensation of justice, and permit no one but a Gauda to become the headman. Such a control very much tempers the Brahminic aspirations of the Haruvas; as might be expected, therefore, these aspirations find their fullest expression only in the four
177 hamlets which are inhabited exclusively by Haruvas. Gaudas, instead of adopting the
615 Brahminic model, are now tending to adopt the modern, metropolitan model that they see in exaggerated form in some films, and which they find helps them to understand the Tamilian traders and officials with whom they have so often to deal.

12 To summarize the conclusions expressed in this chapter: (1) the towns of the Nilgiris have acted as catalysts and centers of resources for the socio-cultural

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruḷa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

601 Another possible situation does give some weight to female generation-level. Here (Diagram 6) 'A' has married 'B' but then produced no children, so 'B' arranges for a second wife, and marries 'C', his first wife's niece. A son 'Y' is then born to 'C', but subsequently to this 'A' also produces a son 'X'. In this situation 'Y' must always call 'X' "elder brother" although in point of fact 'X' is younger than 'Y'.

Diagram 6

Yet another instance of how relationship is determined by one's husband's generation-level is found in the following case (Diagram 7). 'B's' wife died and so he married 'C', who is classified as a "daughter" to his son-in-law 'D'. She therefore calls 'D' "father" and he calls her "daughter". 'C' also calls 'A' "mother", since she is seen by her as a "father's" wife, but at the same time 'A' calls 'C' "mother" too, because 'C' is also a father's wife for 'A'.

Diagram 7

7. Marriage Patterns

582 615 While there is a hierarchy among the various phratries that make up Badaga society, and while there are definite marriage rules linking particular clans (i.e., clan P tends to find most or all of its spouses in clan Q of the same phratry, and *vice versa*), this hierarchy and set of marriage preferences is not supported by a belief concerning purity and pollution of the individual. In fact, one can argue that hypergamy and hypogamy are equally acceptable to the Badagas—something that is perhaps unique for any non-tribal Indian community. Thus a girl or youth of the vegetarian Ha:ruva clan may marry a person of a non-vegetarian Gauda clan without any adverse comment; nothing worse in fact than some inconveniences at mealtimes. Instead 581 of purity/pollution considerations, it is shame or prestige that becomes important during marriage arrangements. Thus everybody wants to marry a headman's child but nobody wants to marry an orphan. A large joint family is considered a strong and respectable social unit—even if a new bride sometimes feels less than welcome in it—and people do seek marriage connections with it for their daughters.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

582 2) Parallel cousins. MZD could be Ego's half-Z if his father had married the MZ. FBD is included here but has also been mentioned under the previous heading.

3) Daughters of offspring and of siblings. A SD, ZD, DD, and WBD (who would be a ZD when brother/sister exchange occurred) are in this category.

[613] 4) Wives of other lineage males. FW and FBW, FFBW and FM are encompassed in this category. As already stated, these women become part of Ego's lineage once they marry into it.

The basic people Ego can marry (FZD, MBD, and WZ) are cross-cousins, ideally with brother/sister exchange linking two families.

• 615 Badagas see all of their phratry as either affine or agnate. As a woman is assimilated into her husband's lineage when she marries, she therefore becomes an agnate to the husband rather than remaining an affine. An affine could basically be described then as a potential wife or potential wife-giver.

8. Marriage Possibilities: Some Interesting Anomalies

121 Owing to the fact that the ideal marriage partner—actual FZD or MBD—is not always available, certain unusual marriage possibilities have been noted among the Badagas. In the following section I will examine them, using hypothetical examples presented by my informants.

582 The first thing to understand in Diagram 9 is that although 'Y' is of an earlier generation than Ego (seemingly his great-grandmother), she should be of younger age than Ego. Ego's mother was not in 'X's' lineage after her marriage, thus her father 'X' and *his* father would be of a wife-giving lineage and the marriage would then be unusual but still permissible.

Diagram 9

I have combined two other cases (Diagrams 10 and 11) because basically they are the same: a man is marrying his father's second wife's sister. Although this would put the bride in a classificatory "M" role, the marriage would be permissible for the following reasons (I will use Diagram 10 to illustrate): Ego's father's second wife was not in Ego's lineage before her marriage, thus her parents would not be in Ego's lineage. It is assumed that Ego's father's second wife's father's second wife ("MM") was not a member of Ego's lineage before marriage but was a member of a third lineage. Thus, as long as the daughter of this woman in no way fits into a category of

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

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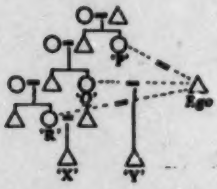

Diagram 13

Even though 'Q' (who is married to 'R') is, in Diagram 14, in a classificatory "mother" relationship to 'R', Ego can still marry 'X'. The FM of 'X' is not of Ego's lineage. Assuming that the FFZSW is no longer of Ego's lineage and is not related through any members of Ego's lineage in such a way as to preclude the marriage, then this union is permissible. It should be pointed out that there is more than one way to "skin a cat" and in any of these marriages the relationship between the two potential spouses can be figured in such a way as to allow the marriage. If in fact Ego *were* related to 'X' so as to prohibit the marriage with her, but if this relationship were distant enough, it might simply be overlooked provided no one protested.

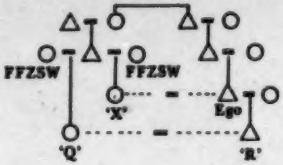

Diagram 14

9. The Family: Some Conclusions

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In the larger phratries the Badagas have a generalized system of marital exchange, a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Such a system allows some of the clans to differ in status from others. In the smaller phratries consisting of no more than two clans, however, restricted exchange occurs, still with the bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

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Because of their theory of patriliny, namely that every infant is formed solely from the semen of its father, the two prime cross-cousins who constitute potential spouses are in an equivalent relationship for Ego. From a Badaga male's point of view, these possibilities are MBD and FZHD—in other words, the daughter of a bride-taker (or bride-giver) who belongs to another